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## A SOCIALIST ON WHEELS.

Headquarters On a Bicycle.

PHOENIXVILLE, Pa., Nov. 19, 1897.  
—Viewed from the standpoint of personal locomotion, there may be said to be, "broadly speaking," two species of the genus Socialist, viz., the Socialist-pedestrian and the Socialist-bicyclist. The pedestrian Socialist, grizzled, bristling, lowering, smelling of late hours, beer and dynamite, may well, in many breasts, excite alarm, but in comparison with his brother on wheels he is gentle as dropping snowflakes. When you see the Socialist bearing down flaring red revolution astride of a hurrying and lightning-glittering wheels, spurring on, on, on, with infernal whirl, swirl, swirl, emitting ghastly warwhoops, scattering intermittent showers of bursting, roaring bombs, the wheels belching forth great clouds of dust, which swiftly accumulate in the rear, and veil prostrate and shapeless masses of beams, mutilated roads, demolished bridges and other horrors (too numerous to mention) then, indeed, it is an appalling phenomenon. Slickening terror seizes the on-looker, the heart sinks, the face blanches, the eyes bulge like door-knobs, the tongue is dumb, the legs weak as wilted weeds, and the body, strength leaving it as water flows from a broken jar, falls a heap of tottering ruins. Such is the monster that for several months prior to the election has devastated the State of Ohio with trails of devastation, depopulated plains and valleys and scattered the inhabitants terror-stricken to the hills for refuge.  
And now throughout the Buckeye State, the mother quiets the obstreperous kid with  
Hush ye, hush ye, little pet ye.  
The wild Socialist shall not get ye.  
I left the East (near Philadelphia) on my wheel the 3d of July, and passing through, in Pennsylvania, Lancaster and historic Gettysburg (where the forces of wage-slavery broke the backbone of the chattel-slave forces) touched the famous old National Pike at Hagerstown, Md., and continued upon it as far as Wheeling, W. Va., passing over the mountains of Pennsylvania and Maryland by way of Cumberland and Frostburg, Md., and Petersburg and Uniontown, Pa.; thence going through Washington, Pa., and across the Panhandle (about a dozen miles wide) into Wheeling, W. Va., arriving there on July 13. From that time up to October 28 I toured in Ohio, touching practically all the important places and points immediate thereto in the State.  
As to weather, roads, etc., which every "bicycle feller" is sure to ask about. The weather, thanks to McKinley, has been the longest-continued favorable weather for bicycling I can remember. The first few days out, though, in the beginning of July were "all-fired" hot, and when grinding, snorting, sweating, boiling up a long limestone hill where no breeze was stirring, that furious sun smote a weary agitator on the back of the head and melted all his ideas, Socialistic and otherwise, into a sizzling mass that made it hard to tell which was what—in other words, nearly "croaked." However, before many days I got into the mountains, and while elsewhere people suffered from torrid weather, had at least cool nights, needing some cover. There was extremely little rain during the four months in question; less than half a dozen of my outdoor meetings were prevented by rain. After awhile, however, owing to the long drought, the roads got fearfully dusty; at one place the wheels went into the dust half-way to the hubs and squirted it outward like streams of dusty flour. At such times it fills the air, gets into the eyes, ears, nostrils, lungs, grits on the teeth, settles all over your revolutionary "mug" and neck, tracing out the various wrinkles and creases, the sweat (i. e., perspiration) pastes it fast, it fills shoes and stockings and chokes up the chain, which then grinds and snaps angrily. Proceeding thus, on a sweltering day, dripping with sweat, blinded and irritated with dust, with now and then a smarting insect striking the eye like a dot of fire and invariably settling down for an indefinite stay between the eyelid and the eye-balls—life is certainly "one, grand, sweet song."  
As to roads, I found now and then a good strip, but as a rule they were bad, primitively engineered, outrageously neglected, and impaired and repaired in so barbarous a fashion that I can only convey my idea of them by the word "capitalistic" in its worst sense.  
One of the first things at which Socialist officials can put vast numbers of the unemployed to work is the building of good roads. While on the subject I might as well offer some suggestions. Make 'em broad, hard, smooth, straight, level, easy rising and falling; line 'em with trees, not only shade trees, but fruit trees, nut trees; have here and there a deep, clear, cool spring, sunk in a mossy bank, hidden beneath a maze of vines (grape-vines), a green sward roundabout, with odoriferous flowers; further along a clump of persimmon trees, then some giant oaks, with their heavy, whispering branches, some mournful pines and cedars, a long sweep of sloping road paralleled by columns of weeping willows, the setting sun sifting through their silvery leaves; great sycamores stretching their gaunt white arms supplicatingly towards the sky, noble elms, majestic poplars and other stately sentinels of the forest. Yes, my friend, but I'm afraid it would never do. Too much like heaven. If we didn't live in a hell here, how could we appreciate

the heaven we go to when we die? Spinning along on his wheel fifteen miles an hour, riding everything east of the Rockies, sniffing the glorious air like a warhorse, exhilarated, intoxicated, the wheelman—and I'm afraid everybody else—would forget his "gawd."  
Going over the Alleghenies I had a horrible time of it. Made only five miles an hour, much, if not most of it, walking. Covered one day in the mountains 45 miles, equivalent to 90 on level roads. My best speed on this tour was at one place 16 miles in one hour. I rode 35 miles in three hours between Uhrichsville and Coshocton, Ohio, and 65 miles in 5½ hours between Norwalk and Cleveland, O.  
This is the routine you go through in crossing the Alleghenies à la bicyclette. Climb a long, steep, winding grade, rough, rubbly, wriggly-wraggly laboriously, shoving your loaded wheel beside you; on either hand the enormous mountain sides sloping away, wooded, to the distant summits; now and then a little plateau to cross, rough and rutty; meeting perhaps at long intervals a solitary pedestrian or ramshackle wagon; up again, crawling around a curve like a snail, hoping upon turning the corner to see the summit—there's only one "summit" but many are the curves—again and again hope deferred; but all things have an end, and at last, after two or three miles climbing, the top is reached; you wait awhile to "ketch yo' bief," you need it; you admire the scenery, grand, solemn, silent; once again you grasp the grips, straddle the saddle, shove toes into clips and press forward. Soon you begin the wild plunge downward. Presently the speed is so great that it can no longer be controlled by back-pedaling, and the brake must be applied. (Having no brake, I used the foot on the front tire.) The large stones and the ruts interrupt and throw you into a distorted, zig-zaggy motion, like a canoe shooting boiling rapids; then rush down with a thump and grunt into a thank-you-mam, shoot out over it front wheel in air, lucky if it do not twist in your hands and bring everything down in a heap. Fly around a short sharp curve, with danger of slipping off the rim and flattening out a Socialist on the rocky floor far below; once in a while, say your prayers, make reflections and resolutions; rushing on, balled up on the machine like your simian relative on a bucking broncho; occasionally sweeping swiftly across a little plateau, passing a mountain cabin with curious children in the doorway; down again; rip over a mass of small stones, teeth rattle, filling drops out, on, on, on, bumpity-bump, until at last you slide down the last slope and plunge into a bed of deep, heavy sand, where all your strength is required to keep the front wheel straight and avoid flying over the handle-bar. Now get off and walk, or perhaps try to ride, at either side of the bed of sand, on one of the narrow, round-shouldered paths, off which you are in constant danger of slipping into the ditch or gulch below. Ahead is the next long, tortuous, toilsome ascent, it may be fifty yards to it, it may be a mile; eventually you reach it and struggle upward again.  
It often reminds me of the Chinaman's description of his ride on a toboggan slide: "Whist! Walkee back millee."  
It may interest the "bends" to know of the novel method of warming feet I discovered. This was in '93, returning from the World's Fair, going down a three-mile slope of these same mountains. I used my foot on the front tire as a brake, but the friction was so great that in spite of shoes and stockings being drenched through by rain, my foot got so hot I was obliged to change to the other, and then back again, alternating thus all the way down. This is the gospel truth, too. I know of fellows who say they ride so fast that telegraph posts appear to them like pale fences, or if they shut their eyes while riding it is impossible to lift the eye-lids again without slowing up; but I'm not that kind. The use of the foot as a brake, by the way, I can not commend, as it is liable to lead to serious accidents.  
This road across the mountains was doubtless in very good condition. It is what was originally the "Cumberland Road," running from Cumberland, Md., to Wheeling, W. Va., and built by the Federal government, during Monroe's administration, at a cost of \$1,000,000, to connect the navigable portion of the Potomac River with the Ohio for the accommodation of the great stream of immigration pouring into the then North-west Territory, and the traffic and travel incident to the development of the new States carved out of that territory. The Federal government extended this road into Indiana later, and eventually the different States extended it to St. Louis, thus completing the famous "National Pike," running from Washington, D. C., to St. Louis, Mo.  
Further west, in the western part of Ohio and eastern and central parts of Indiana, this National Pike is still fine to ride on, as I found by my tour in '93. In those parts it is gravelled, the gravel sometimes packing down nearly as good as a race-track.  
We might remark, by the way, that here was an immigration of foreigners, which the then American (the Indian) tried in vain to restrict and for his pains received the remorseless axe, and lost life and property without a cent of compensation. How about this, bourgeois? And the accrued interest?  
In those days the Pike was well kept, marked at every mile with large pyramidal iron posts, giving the names of towns going and coming and the number of miles, most of which posts yet remain; the Pike was carried across solid stone arches, still standing with their dates; and at intervals were substantial old-fashioned taverns, some of which are yet to be seen.  
Along this great road in the early days rattled the "impossible-to-be-improved-upon" stage coach and the long, sway-back, tunnel-shaped canvas-covered "Conestoga" wagon of the immi-

## WIRE, NAIL AND ROD.

A New Way to Raise Capital to Displace Labor.

Workingmen told they Must Choose Between a Reduction of Wages or a Large Displacement of them by the Introduction of a New Machine—They Prefer a Reduction—With the Amount Realized by the Company on the Introduction, the New Machine is Bought Inside a Year and the Men are then Thrown out Anyhow.  
CANAL DOVER, O., Nov. 21.—Sometimes, even in these "well spoken days," we run across something interesting, that aids to puncture the cry of the prosperity pushers. The other day I happened on an article from an iron worker, who well shows the undercurrent of industrialism. Most of us look only on the surface, with the result that our organization is pure and simple.  
The letter I refer to appeared in the "National Labor Tribune," official organ of the Ironworkers' Union. It says: "In July, 1896 (the letter is from Anderson, Ind.), heaters, helpers and telegraphers were called to the office and told they must accept a reduction of 10 per cent, or the firm would put in patent furnaces. This bluff worked well, for all the furnace men accepted. They worked one year at this reduction, and when the firm had realized enough to put in the improved furnaces from the furnace-men's wages, they let two of the heaters go, kept two, and gave two others the opportunity of helping or 'gitting' kept two helpers, and scattered the other four, with the six telegraphers, all over the plant.  
The changes in the wire-mill have been just as numerous. We are working for about ONE-HALF the wages we were getting a year ago, and men who were considered experts at the trade are no more valued at wire-drawing than the farmer who wants the same job."  
The departments of the mill the writer speaks about above are reported working full. He says when he read that report he thought of the changes under which they had resumed, and then he shows us as above those changes. In the iron trade gigantic changes have revolutionized nearly the industry that takes in the mills he speaks of—wire, nail, and rod mills. Formerly high wages and steady work was the happy lot of the operatives. Now rod mills have surrendered to machinery, and high wages and steady work are things of the past. The wire-workers, too, who previously were accounted highly skilled, are suffering from the introduction of girls, which leads the "National Labor Tribune" to idiotically remark that "if this thing keeps up, the time will soon come when it will be the girls' duty to pop the question."  
The mill men generally are like their official organ. The few Socialists in the mills are laughed to scorn by those who work beside us because we say such changes as have taken place need not have jeopardized the existence of so many, if only industries were operated socially. We tell them that introduction of machinery now means decreased wages or increased hours and more unemployed in consequence. Under Socialism it would be shorter hours, and thereby employ more. But the workers who suffered crushing defeat at Andrew Carnegie's hands, and who last June received a reduction of 50 cents per ton on puddling, are like Hamlet with physic, they'll "have none of it." They evidently want to be further sat upon before Socialism gets near enough in the perspective for them.  
Here at Dover, however, we received quite a few votes from the mill. The puddlers, who were started to work a few weeks before election (no doubt by Major McKinley's prosperity), are getting perhaps \$1.50 or so per day. They used to receive two to three times that amount, and that mayhap is why we set them thinking.  
It is to be hoped that more of the benighted iron and steel workers in the United States will emulate those of this little town, and show they understand such changes as our Anderson friend's letter points out to them.  
BERT RUGG.

## S. T. & L. A.

A Grand Festival of Chicago Cloak-makers.

CHICAGO, Nov. 22.—The grand festival given by the Chicago Cloak-makers' Union took place Sunday evening, Nov. 21, at Ruhl's Hall (one of the largest halls on the west side of Chicago). Comrades T. J. Morgan and Peter Slesman were the principal speakers at this evening. Comrade Th. J. Morgan appealed to the cloakmakers to join the S. T. & L. A., and this appeal was accepted with the same thunder of applause as when he called upon them "to strike on election day at the ballot box, and vote for International Socialism, for the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY."  
The Chicago Cloakmakers' Union was organized in November, 1889, by the Jewish Section, S. L. P. of this city. Now this union consists of 900 good-standing members. It is known in the "pure and simple" trade unionists circles as an S. L. P. union, especially in the so-called Federation of Labor. Within a short time from to-day the Chicago Cloakmakers' Union will be a local of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada.  
The programme of the ball contained musical pieces having the following names:  
Waltz—"Vote for the Socialist Labor Party."  
Varsouvienne—"Read THE PEOPLE."  
Beline—"Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance."  
CHICAGO CLOAKMAKERS' UNION. B. SCHLESSINGER, Secy.

## FARMING TO-DAY.

As Completely Capitalist as any Banking Concern.

The Farm-burning Capitalist Lives in the East—The Farm Industry Conducted from Top to Bottom by a Ranked Army of Employes or Wage Slaves, Who are Operated, Upon as Strict a Factory Plan as any Best-developed, New England Factory—Life of the Farm-Hand Proletariat—A Roving Army from South to North.  
Mr. William Allen White has an illustrated article in the November issue of "Scribner's Magazine," entitled, "The Business of a Wheat Farm." The article deserves close reading by those who affirm that the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth is impossible for the reason that the "independent agricultural class" not being affected by the conditions which prevail in the manufacturing world can therefore have no sympathy with Socialism, but, on the contrary, must be antagonistic to it.  
The old-time idea of the farmers' independent life is rapidly being exploded, already the methods of farming have become so revolutionized that one can readily foresee that the same fate awaits the small farmer as has overtaken other small producers.  
A few facts culled from the article will give eastern readers some idea of the revolution that has taken place in the production of wheat.  
"When one is cataloguing the callings of men one says 'the business man, and the farmer,' never 'the business man and farmer,' or the 'business man engaged in farming.' In daily speech modern men and women pay unconscious tribute to the ghost of the old order—the order which seemed to decree that the farmer's existence depended upon brawn and not upon brain. This thoughtless slighting of the farmer's vocation—which is made manifest in a score of forms in all departments of art, and in the conduct of material affairs—seems curious when one pauses to observe how deeply the farmer of to-day is involved in the meshes of commerce. The successful farmer of this generation must be a business man first, and a tiller of the soil afterward. In him must be combined many talents. He must be a CAPITALIST, cautious and crafty; he must be an operator of industrial affairs, daring and resourceful, and he must play labor's part, with patience and humility. He is in business as certainly as the banker. And henceforth until the order changes, the farmer's success in business will quadruple with the kind and quantity of brains he uses, and with the number of fertile acres under his plough. The average bonanza farmer operates from three to ten thousand acres. There are, of course, scores of small farmers who have one, two and three sections under plough. They are not counted in the same breath with the more extensive wheat-growers.  
"As a general thing the titles to these great farms lie in the names of individuals. The corporation is rarely found operating a farm. Frequently the private ownership exists. Sometimes one of the partners is manager of the farm. But more often the land owners live in the East. Many live in the smaller towns of Pennsylvania and New York. A well-known farm in North Dakota is owned by three brothers, living in seaboard States. They do not concern themselves with the active management of the farm, but hire a manager, who is paid a salary equivalent to that of the superintendent of an important railway division, and upon this manager rests the actual business of the farm—the growing of the product and selling it.  
"It is difficult to present the idea of the bigness of these farms to the person whose preconceived notion of a farm is a little checker-board lying upon a hillside or in a valley. Seven thousand acres present the average bonanza farm. Generally these tracts are not divided. Yet distances across fields are so great that horseback communication is impracticable. Crews of workmen living at one end of the farm and operating it may not see the crews in other corners from season's end to season's end. And in busy seasons it is found profitable to feed the hands in the fields rather than to allow them to trudge through the hot sun to the dining-halls for dinner. The dining-halls—it will be explained later—are scattered over the farm at convenient points. They are frequently five or six miles apart, and many a noon finds the harvesting crew two miles from its hall. There are three divisions of the farm, each division having its division superintendent. At each division house there are stables and implement barns. In each division-stable are about one hundred head of horses, and it may be noted in passing that stable hands are employed the year around to look after the horses, and the men who work the horses in the field are never allowed to feed the horses. In the machine-shed upon each division are ten four-horse ploughs, eight four-horse drills, half a dozen harrows, and seven binders of the new 'right-hand-binding' pattern. There are three steam-motor threshing machines on the place. This is all the big machinery. But of course there are wagons, carts, wheel-barrows and small farm tools in proportion to the number of large machines on the place. A blacksmith's outfit, and a woodworker's shop is maintained in the place the year around.  
"Two elevators, one with a capacity of 40,000 bushels and the other with a capacity of 60,000, are located upon opposite corners of the farm by the railroad track which runs through the great field. A central office, wherein the book-keeper and the manager conduct the business of the farm, is connected

with the three division houses and with other important points on the farm by telephone.  
"A score and a half of cows furnish the milk for the workmen, and a half hundred pigs root in the feed-lot. A room containing over a carload of machinery repairs, and another room filled with staple groceries, purchased at wholesale, and a third room filled with harness, join the main office. A set of books, kept as carefully as the books of a bank are kept, and a telephone connecting the farm with a telegraph wire to the world's markets complete the list of articles which may properly be called the tools of the business—the plant.  
"A majority of the laborers comes from the South in harvest-time. These men are regular harvesters, who begin with the early June harvest in Oklahoma, working northward until the season closes in the Red River country. Men of this class never pay railroad fare. Thousands of them—perhaps 15 men for every thousand acres in wheat—ride into the bonanza district on the "blind-baggage" or passenger trains. When they have leisure and a taste for scenery they jolt placidly across the continent homeward-bound in what the lingo of the cult calls 'side-door-sleepers.' Many of these workmen live in the larger towns in the Middle West—in St. Louis, in Omaha, in St. Paul, in Chicago or in Milwaukee.  
"The men are not paid by the day, but by the month, and they receive from twenty to twenty-five dollars, including their board and room and washing. They eat breakfast at five o'clock and supper at half-past seven.  
"It has been estimated that the cost of feeding a harvest army is thirty cents a day for each man."  
Taken altogether, the article furnishes another illustration of the class law, and further, it bears tribute to the Socialist position which recognized in the farmer a capitalist element as potent as the banker, manufacturer or transporter.  
Let us hope that, quickly heeding the lessons of experience, the farming proletariat of the United States will soon be found marching under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, which is destined to shatter the system that robs them of their birthright—the product of their toil.  
H.

## CLASS GOVERNMENT.

The United States government is and always has been of, by and for the people, who own the means of labor.  
When Washington was president, the bulk of the people owned the means of labor—their own tools with which to work, and their own land on which to work. According to the census (1890) about 8 per cent. of the people now own about 72 per cent. of the nation's wealth. This comparatively very small number of people are in possession of what now constitutes the means of labor—the large industrial establishments and machinery and the natural resources of the country. This small minority liddle class of capitalists practically constitutes the present United States government. They who own the means of labor are the government and the masters. They who own nothing but their mental and physical powers to labor are the slaves.  
The large industrial establishments and their equipments are social in their nature inasmuch as they cannot be operated except by social or co-operative labor. Hence it is impossible for all to be owners of the means of labor under individual ownership. Therefore the means of labor should be socially or collectively owned by the whole people.  
The so-called Republican and Democratic politicians holding office are merely the lackeys of the capitalist class. Just glance at the national conventions of the different political parties in 1896. They were all composed of capitalists and their hired attorneys, while wage workers, who are the majority of the people, were very conspicuous by their absence, excepting in the Socialist Labor party. Consequently the election to office of any of the candidates nominated by conventions composed of capitalists simply means the election of lackeys who will serve the present class government—the capitalist class.  
The present mission of the capitalist is to rob labor—to appropriate the productive results of labor and give as little back to the laborer as possible. The part that is kept by the legalized thief is called profits. The part given back to labor is called wages. Hence, no political party, owned and controlled by capitalists, will ever stoop down for the purpose of lifting up the working class. The workers must own and control a political party of their own, standing for the collective ownership by the people of the means of labor, and stop voting to remain capitalist subjects.  
As long as our American forefathers remained British subjects, their condition kept getting worse. As long as we remain capitalist subjects, our condition as a class must inevitably continue to grow worse; because our labor power, which is treated as a merchandise, subject to the law of supply and demand, keeps getting more and more displaced by machinery, by the aid of which the world's work can be done with less human labor.  
The American people elected by the ballot that memorable Continental Congress which convened at Philadelphia in 1776, and declared for political independence and the overthrow of British rule. Nothing can now save this American nation, except the election by the American people of a Socialist Congress which will declare for industrial independence and the overthrow of capitalist or class rule.  
The people must cease to be slaves of industry by becoming collectively the proprietors of industry.  
J. F. LOMBARD.

## STILL COMING IN.

Some More Figures on the Late Political Battle.

Edward Bellamy's Statement that "the Election Returns of the Old Parties Come by Limited Express and these of Others come by Slow Freight," is this Year Resolving Striking Confirmation—Nevertheless, the Returns that are Drizzling in Show that the Revolutionary Vote will Rise Above 50,000.  
Massachusetts.  
Boston, Nov. 22.—The following is the vote in Boston for the candidate for Governor by wards, which has just been procured at the office of the Board of Election Commissioners. Many inquiries from members as to the vote in the various wards having been made, they will be glad to have it. It will be useful for future reference:  
Ward. Votes.  
1.....16  
2.....42  
3.....27  
4.....30  
5.....25  
6.....43  
7.....37  
8.....83  
9.....70  
10.....26  
11.....15  
12.....28  
13.....48  
14.....63  
15.....65  
16.....48  
17.....39  
18.....73  
19.....86  
20.....15  
21.....27  
22.....84  
23.....48  
24.....31  
25.....15  
Total.....1,062  
Buckland for Lieutenant-Governor had 1,386; A. W. Barr (Secretary), 1,554; Joseph Bellam (Auditor), 1,738; Wm. Harrison (Attorney-General), 1,672.  
Bancroft (Prohib.), got 656; Everett (Gold bug), 3,369; Williams (Political adventurer, ex-Attorney for Massachusetts, coupon clipper and Dandy Mcawber waiting for a political sun-burn), 2,493; Walcott (Attorney for all who was fat), 30,846. Blank ballots, 2,068—those who did not vote for any candidate for Governor.  
New Jersey.  
Elizabeth, Nov. 21.—Union County gives our party 655; last year, 402.  
The Vote in N. Y. City (Boroughs Manhattan and Bronx).  
Assembly District. 1896. 1897. Cuno. Matchett.  
1.....18.....32  
2.....121.....111  
3.....49.....67  
4.....661.....588  
5.....54.....71  
6.....239.....241  
7.....48.....57  
8.....637.....494  
9.....97.....114  
10.....798.....755  
11.....105.....154  
12.....935.....923  
13.....186.....205  
14.....460.....575  
15.....141.....155  
16.....961.....1,164  
17.....151.....156  
18.....211.....243  
19.....89.....86  
20.....101.....139  
21.....90.....136  
22.....141.....171  
23.....121.....173  
24.....308.....319  
25.....35.....42  
26.....478.....549  
27.....21.....25  
28.....553.....605  
29.....41.....48  
30.....584.....528  
31.....49.....89  
32.....369.....423  
33.....192.....197  
34.....290.....266  
35.....553.....560  
Total.....10,028.....10,571  
The Vote for Assembly in the 16th Assembly District.  
Election De Leon. Hoffmann. Koenig.  
District. Soc. Tam. Rep.  
1.....95.....152.....63  
2.....131.....103.....86  
3.....111.....126.....42  
4.....76.....158.....52  
5.....104.....173.....60  
6.....54.....190.....33  
7.....96.....93.....32  
8.....131.....182.....70  
9.....99.....157.....50  
10.....176.....103.....50  
11.....97.....173.....82  
12.....87.....177.....69  
13.....93.....193.....75  
14.....61.....237.....106  
15.....86.....169.....83  
16.....82.....201.....88  
17.....47.....175.....75  
18.....56.....250.....85  
19.....64.....181.....62  
20.....53.....139.....58  
21.....59.....135.....22  
Totals.....1,858.....3,377.....1,342  
N. Y. City (Borough of Brooklyn).—Official vote for Cuno, 3,364, an increase over last year.  
Utica, Nov. 20.—Cuno received 243 votes in Oneida County, against 164 last year for Matchett. In the 4th ward of this city, where we had a full ticket, Hedder, Rep., had 222; Liebing, Socialist Labor Party, 133; and Schilling, Dem., 129.  
The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....2,088  
In 1890.....13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential).....21,157  
In 1894.....33,123  
In 1896 (Presidential).....36,564

This social system of to-day, kept  
in constant ferment to defend itself  
against the disorders that rise out  
of its own lap, is compelled per-  
petually to strengthen force against  
force: in this century of unlimited  
competition and over-production,  
there is also competition among  
armies and an over-production of  
militarism; industry itself being a  
battle, war becomes the leading,  
the most exciting, the most feverish of  
all industries.

Jean Jaures.

## WAR, PATRIOTISM, RELIGION AND COMMERCIALISM.

At some later day we shall treat the  
readers of THE PEOPLE to the full  
text of the magnificent speech delivered  
by Comrade Jean Jaures in the French  
Chamber of Deputies, and out of which  
this week's quotation at the head of  
these columns is taken. To-day, we  
shall limit ourselves to furnishing an  
illustration of the truth of the above  
quotation taken from more recent his-  
toric events.

How largely did not the word "patriot-  
ism" figure in the late war between  
Greece and Turkey! from whatever  
source information came, "patriotism"  
was the point of departure and the ulti-  
mate aim. On "patriotic" grounds some  
nations supported Greece, and on  
"patriotic" grounds others befriended  
Turkey; and, most wonderful of all,  
these various "patriots" always shoved  
forward their "Christianity" and their  
"Religion."

Among the Governments that took a  
most pronounced "patriotic" and "re-  
ligious" stand during that war was Ger-  
many. Even during the war the wicked  
Socialist, who refuses to be duped by  
words, looked behind the curtain, and  
saw the German holders of Turkish  
bonds anxious to safeguard their prop-  
erty. The sight explained the source of  
the "patriotism" and "religion" of the  
German Government. Now, since the  
war, further facts have appeared that  
throw light upon the connecting links  
of all these bourgeois virtues and bour-  
geoisism, or commercialism itself.

Germany has had an eye on the in-  
demnities money that Turkey received.  
And how? The German Government, out  
of "patriotism," etc., has been maintain-  
ing that Turkey should have a navy; as  
Turkey has none, that she should build  
one; and—that GERMAN SHIP-  
BUILDERS SHOULD HAVE THE CONTRACTS.

Here is the cat all out, from whiskered  
nose to tasseled tail. Commercialism  
deals in war as it deals in potatoes,  
rum, bibles, etc. It matters not that the  
effect of owning a navy is to render a  
nation ready for war; what of it? War  
feeds commerce, commerce feeds war,  
and the end of the song is larger wealth  
for those to luxuriate in who neither  
bled on the battlefields nor sweated on  
the industrial fields of toil.

The ideologists who strive at "one  
thing at a time," who in one place pass  
"peace resolutions," at another address  
themselves to the task of removing  
some other one iniquity, and so on  
should concentrate their thoughts, if  
they have any to concentrate, upon this  
little fact of the German Government's  
schemes, and they will discover that the  
mechanism of capitalism is such that it  
is indestructible unless attacked and  
fought all along the line.

Capitalism means war; one plank of  
capitalism means the whole of capital-  
ism. To oppose one plank only is to  
leave all others standing, and thus  
render abortive all seeming success  
against the monster.

## "BROADNESS"—No. 1.

So often has the Socialist Labor party  
been charged with "narrowness" and  
admonished to be "broad," and these  
charges and admonitions have so uni-  
formly come from sources that re-  
vealed the absurdity of the claim, that  
we have some time ago decided to  
adopt a new system of tactics in the  
answering of the charges and admoni-  
tions. Hitherto we have met them on  
general lines. We shall henceforth take  
them up individually, as they turn up,  
and photograph them. The collection  
of photographs thus taken will quite  
effectively dispose of the point. We  
open this new photographic gallery of  
"Broadness" with Mr. F. G. R. Gordon.

Careful readers of THE PEOPLE will  
have seen in last week's report of the  
National Executive Committee of the

Socialist Labor Party that Mr. F. G. R.  
Gordon, of Manchester, N. H., was dis-  
charged by the N. E. C. as an organizer  
on the ground that a number of letters,  
written by Gordon, while acting as an  
organizer of the S. L. P., advise at-  
tachment to the Social Democracy," etc.  
In these letters the "narrowness" of the  
S. L. P. and the necessity of "broad-  
ness" are matters of frequent recur-  
rence. The facts in the case, undeniable  
as being furnished in Mr. Gordon's own  
handwriting over his own signature,  
serve excellently to photograph what he  
means by "broadness" and "narrow-  
ness."

Mr. F. G. R. Gordon was receiving  
pay from the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. to  
organize Socialist Sections, and for that  
purpose was furnished with an organ-  
izer's commission. According to Mr.  
Gordon, "broadness" consisted in tak-  
ing pay from the S. L. P. to organize So-  
cialist Sections and at the same time  
denounce the S. L. P. and induce people  
not to join it and even to leave it.

"Broadness," as he understands it, is to  
take pay from any organization that he  
could cheat into the belief that he  
would work for it, and simultaneously  
work against it and lay the pipes to get  
pay from some other and hostile or-  
ganization. "Broadness," according to  
him, is the swindler's trick; and, in-  
versely, "narrowness" is the insistence  
that a man shall not be double-faced,  
shall not raise money under false pre-  
tences, shall walk the straight road of  
plain honor. As a matter of course, the  
S. L. P. is not "broad" enough to accept  
Mr. Gordon's interpretation of "broad-  
ness," and it displayed all the "narrow-  
ness" for which it is charged by  
promptly cashiering "broad" Gordon's  
commission, and taking the initiative  
steps that would have ended in his ex-  
pulsion had he not saved the party the  
trouble of a trial and quickly got out  
and joined his fellow "broadnesses" on  
the outside.

We know of no instance of a man's  
charging the S. L. P. with lack of  
"broadness" who did not belong to the  
Gordon category. The photographic  
gallery of these worthies is just begun;  
more will follow.

The document on the third page of  
this issue, entitled "In the Matter of the  
Printers," issued by the General Ex-  
ecutive Board of the Socialist Trade &  
Labor Alliance, deserves careful per-  
usal.

The question of the industrial organi-  
zation of the working class is an im-  
portant one, and yet few questions con-  
nected with the labor movement bristle  
with as many difficulties. To overcome  
these difficulties one must be equipped  
with the first requirement of a Socialist,  
if any one quality, needed to make  
the Socialist, can be given first rank, it  
is the quality of unqualified devotion to  
fact and ruthless disregard for notions,  
opinions and the like; however much  
one may be inclined to these.

The document "In the Matter of the  
Printers" furnishes facts that can not  
but destroy the superstition that at-  
taches very generally in favor of any-  
thing that calls itself a "Union." Those  
who are equipped with the pre-  
requisite for the making of a Socialist  
will receive from that document a valu-  
able tip.

The working class of America is vir-  
tually disorganized.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The New York "Sun" is furnishing a  
vivid illustration of how Moneybags  
plays with politics. Last Tuesday,  
criticizing Prof. Herron for saying that  
a revolution is palpably approaching,  
and that "there is no disputing that we  
are on the verge of a revolution," it  
seeks to dispose of the statement with  
the answer:

"He may be on the verge of a number  
of revolutions. . . . but the rest of  
the country is all right, and not re-  
volving anything at present but a bill of  
fare for Thanksgiving Day."

And yet, within four weeks of that  
declaration, the "Sun" was beating the  
alarm drum against the "Bryanized  
Tammany," and declaring:

"Tammany's forces are the fore-run-  
ners of revolution; Tammany's victory  
means revolution."

What does all this mean?

It means that the Moneybags who  
controls the "Sun" feared that he had  
lost his hold on the Tammany braves,  
and could make more out of the Repub-  
lican braves; but that, Tammany being  
elected and thereby capitalism again  
supported, it would injure Moneybags'  
stocks to keep up the cry of revolution.  
Moneybags does not make by Tam-  
many's victory as much as he would  
have made by Republican victory. To  
make more, it was willing to howl  
"revolution," but the howl having  
failed, he would now lose infinitely more  
by its being kept up.

Meantime the process of atonic at-  
traction proceeds within the revolution-  
ary retort, and Moneybags may, before  
he imagines, find that the Thanksgiving  
Day bill of fare he is now revolving may  
not materialize.

The mistaken idea that because a few  
individual members of the ruling class  
have sense enough to throw their whole  
strength into the scale of the class-con-  
scious proletarian movement, therefore  
the theory of the class struggle is false  
receives additional exposure from the  
San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter," in  
the following passage:

"If 'The American Fabian' represents  
the class that pose as Fabian Socialists,  
it is not run by the class who are  
hungry, but by a class who are com-

fortably well off, and who sentiment-  
alize about Socialism throughout the  
year and forget to vote for it on Elec-  
tion day, but who do not forget to vote  
for some party that is not Socialist."

The following is the idiotic comment  
made by a capitalist paper, the Eliza-  
beth, Ky., "News," upon a phenomenon  
that is one of the ugliest symptoms of  
the existing social system:

"Elizabethtown is the only place in  
the State where the fall is a handsome  
building than the public schoolhouse."  
"There is either an overproduction of  
girls in Elizabethtown or a big foreign  
demand for boys, as there are five  
young ladies to one beau."

Besides wrecking the homes of the  
people by forcing mothers and children  
into the factory, the capitalist system  
to a great extent saps the foundation of  
the home by tearing the sexes apart.  
"He-towns" and "She-towns" are part  
of the dust that the dried-up mud of  
capitalism suffocates the atmosphere  
with.

The Johnson, R. I., "Beacon" takes  
up and deals with a question that can  
not be treated too often, seeing the fre-  
quency with which it occurs:

"Socialists are often asked why they  
stand out doggedly for attaining the  
full fruits likely to result from a proper  
application of the principles in which  
they profess faith. This query is re-  
peatedly put to us. Why not join hands  
with other reform organizations having  
in view one or a few aims partaking of  
Socialism—more or less?"

"Questions of this nature come not  
only from persons outside the Socialist  
Labor Party. They are frequently  
brought up by people who are enrolled  
under the banner of Socialism. The in-  
terrogators are, however, all of one  
kind—persons to whom the study of  
social and political economy from a So-  
cialist standpoint is something new and  
comparatively unknown. Those who  
propound inquiries like these, without  
full bear the marks of short acquaint-  
ance with Socialist thought and belief,  
or total ignorance of the truths to which  
such thought and belief have given life."

"The inference is natural and con-  
clusive—that a clear and complete  
knowledge of the ends of Socialism  
places individual reforms second to the  
grand and lofty results aimed at by the  
Socialist Labor Party. Full-fledged  
Socialists recognize it to be the height  
of absurdity to expect to inaugurate the  
Socialist Commonwealth by fusing with  
those who know nothing about it."

"Socialists are not antagonistic to re-  
forms. To their mind, however, reforms  
will not be instituted or executed by  
political parties that are not planted on  
the truths of Scientific Socialism."

"Socialism is too clear cut, too well  
defined and too exact to descend from its  
high plane to the low ground of piece-  
meal reform. The success of the Social-  
ist Labor Party is due to its refusal to  
unite with those pursuing less noble  
objects. This firm stand has brought us  
a steady increase of reasoning people.  
Sudden and great accessions of numbers  
we do not strive for, we do not want  
them, and happily we do not get them.  
That characteristic belongs to mush-  
room and short-lived organizations,  
which try to do something for every-  
body and do nothing at all. Such bodies  
of men either commit suicide or else are  
scuttled by their leaders."

"The Co-operative Commonwealth is a  
work too colossal to rest on founda-  
tions that are laid in a night."

Any one acquainted with conditions in  
America will realize how applicable to  
us is the below passage from the London  
"Justice":

"If there is one thing certain in the  
world it is that the proletariat is prac-  
tically the creation of the capitalist  
class. It is no use the capitalists say-  
ing that they are the benefactors of the  
proletariat inasmuch as they keep it  
from starvation."

"The capitalists are responsible for  
the very existence of the proletariat,  
and just because that proletariat is  
miserable, the guilt of the capitalist  
class is the greater. If anyone does not  
believe this, does he believe that Eng-  
land would now have its present popula-  
tion if the capital of the country were  
the same as it was a hundred years ago?"

"Read, in this connection, the follow-  
ing, translated (by Mr. Ruskin) from  
Jules Simon's 'L'Ouvriere,' written in  
1864:

"Elbeuf, WHERE THE INDUSTRIAL  
PROSPERITY IS SO GREAT, ought to  
have healthy lodgings. IT IS A QUITE  
new town, and one which may easily  
extend itself over the hills which sur-  
round it. But the new mass of prole-  
tariat, here congregated, has to live  
in the most abominable conditions. The  
misery is not less horrible, and it is  
much more general than at Rouen. One  
cannot form an idea of the filth of cer-  
tain houses without having seen it. . . .  
One 'home' is so small that when the  
husband, wife and four children are all  
in it, they have not room to move. One  
will not be surprised to hear that  
hunger and the want of air make fre-  
quent victims in such a hole. When  
they were visited, the physician, Mr.  
Levy, spoke of a ticket which he had  
given them the week before for milk.  
'She has drunk of it' said the mother,  
pointing to the oldest daughter, half  
dead, but who had the strength to  
smile. Hunger had reduced this child,  
who would have been beautiful, nearly  
to the state of a SKELETON."

"It is the capitalist who CREATES  
these horrors, and he is responsible to  
God and man for them."

## COMBINE.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by R. H. CHANDLER.]

Vain is the mirth that leads to pain;  
Vain is the labor that brings no gain;  
Wake from thy slumber, ye who would  
be true,

Combine to recover that, that is thy due.  
Let honor lead thee, honor anew  
Will lead you aright, if ye follow her  
clue:

Vain is thy worth, unheard, unknown;  
Vain is thy effort if it hath no tone;  
Fate will enshroud thee, call thee its  
own;

Thee, all thy effort and leave thee to  
moan.

## THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

The proletariat modeled its original  
organizations for defence upon the pat-  
tern of those of the guild journeymen—  
the UNION; so, likewise, did it fashion  
its original offensive weapons, whenever  
it faced Capital in organized bodies,  
after those of the journeymen—the  
BOYCOTT and the STRIKE.

For reasons peculiar to the historic  
days when the guild journeymen waged  
their battles against their masters, their  
weapons remained the same until their  
class became extinct. The modern prole-  
tariat, however, cannot abide by those  
original and primitive weapons. The  
more completely the several portions of  
which it is composed merge into a single  
working class, the more must its battles  
assume a political character. ALL  
CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL  
STRUGGLE.

Even the bare requirements of the  
economic or industrial struggle compel  
the workmen to set up political de-  
mands. Experience shows daily in mul-  
tiple instances that the capitalist  
State, or modern Government, considers  
it one of its principal duties, either to  
render impossible the organizations of  
workmen, or (in countries where, like  
in the United States, the spirit of the  
age is felt too strongly to bluntly  
deny the working class such civic rights  
as those of voluntary organization), to  
render the organizations of labor in-  
effective by falling upon them with the  
combined forces of police, militia and  
judiciary, whenever the workmen take  
the field against their employers in the  
economic struggles between the two.

The theoretical freedom of combina-  
tion is, accordingly, insufficient if the  
proletariat is to build up its organiza-  
tions with such fullness and complete-  
ness as to render them adequate for  
their purposes. Hence, whenever in the  
United States, the working class has  
stirred itself to improve its economic  
conditions, it has placed side by side  
with purely economic, a series of polit-  
ical demands calculated to free it from  
the class outrages perpetrated against  
it by Government, and to prevent the  
effectiveness of its economic organiza-  
tion from being thwarted. These polit-  
ical demands are to the American work-  
men of the highest importance; they  
belong under the category of essential  
pre-requisites, without which their fur-  
ther development becomes impossible;  
they are to the Labor Movement what  
light and air are to the human body.

There are those who endeavor to con-  
trast the political with the economic  
movement, and to draw hard and fast  
lines between them, and who declare  
that the workman should not "mix"  
the two. The fact is that the two—the  
political and the economic struggle—  
cannot be separated from each other.  
The economic struggle needs political  
rights and powers to be carried on suc-  
cessfully; and these political rights and  
powers will not drop into the lap of the  
proletariat from the moon; they will not  
be graciously conceded by the capitalist  
politicians in office; they have to be  
wrung from their hands; they have to be  
conquered; and their conquest re-  
quires the most energetic political ac-  
tivity possible—the independent polit-  
ical action of the working class, as in-  
dependent from the favors, the aids, the  
promises of the bosses and capitalist  
class generally, as the economic action  
is, and necessarily must be, of the  
favors, aids and promises of that class.  
On the other hand, in the last analysis,  
the political struggle is also an economic  
one. If there is any difference between  
the two, it is that the political struggle  
is a more far-reaching and deeper  
cutting manifestation of the economic  
struggle.

Not those laws only that concern the  
working class directly, also the great  
majority of all the others affect it more  
or less. It is an inevitable conclusion  
that, just the same as all others, the  
working class must strive for political  
influence and political power, must en-  
deavor to make the government sub-  
servient to its own interests.

The means to this end are universal,  
at least in manhood, suffrage. In any  
country the working class is deprived of  
this powerful means, and there it strives  
with might and main to acquire it.  
Here, in the United States, the ballot  
is in the hands of the citizen workman.  
The attempts to strike it out of  
his hands, the direct and indirect  
schemes under all specious pretexts to  
disfranchise the American proletariat,  
are numerous, but hitherto have not  
only been unsuccessful, but have had a  
contrary effect to the desired one. The  
American proletariat starts equipped  
with the most powerful political weapon  
—with the aid of which it can conquer  
all others. The task of the proletariat  
when it first starts its political struggles  
is generally made easy through the polit-  
ical conflicts that rage among the  
property-holding classes themselves.  
The industrial capitalists, the mer-  
chants, the landlords, are generally at  
war with one another, and special in-  
terests always divide each of these  
classes into hostile political camps.  
During these political struggles, each  
side looks for allies, and seeks to gain  
them through slight concessions. Some-  
times after a victory the capitalist  
would break faith with his ally; but  
generally, during the first beginnings of  
the labor movement the victorious cap-  
italist fulfilled his promises. It thus  
happened that the capitalists often ap-  
pealed through their political parties to  
the proletariat for aid, and thus, them-  
selves drew the workmen into polit-  
ical action. So long as the capitalist  
uses the proletariat in this way, so long  
as the working class does not conceive  
the idea of standing out independently  
in the political field, the capitalists look  
upon it as their voting cattle, intended  
to strengthen the hand of its own ex-  
ploiter. In this way matters continue  
for a considerable time.

But the interests of the proletariat  
and those of the capitalist class are so  
hostile to each other that the political  
alliance between the two cannot be last-  
ing. The capitalist system of produc-  
tion is bound, sooner or later, to cause  
the participation of the working class in  
politics to take such shape that it splits  
off from the capitalist parties, and that  
the workman sets up his own, the  
Labor Party.

This process lies in the very nature of  
things. There is no class interest but  
expresses itself in a political party; just  
as soon as the working class realizes its  
class interests it is bound to do what  
the other classes do, i. e., express itself  
politically.

At what time the proletariat of a  
country will be so far matured as to take

this decisive step, to cut, so to speak,  
the navel string that binds it, politi-  
cally, to the capitalist system out of  
whose lap it has sprung, depends, above  
all, upon the economic stage of develop-  
ment that such a country has reached,  
in other words, upon the degree of ex-  
ploitation to which the proletariat is  
subjected, AND UPON THE COM-  
PACTNESS OF ITS RANKS. There  
are a number of other circumstances  
that affect considerably the time when  
the working class assumes political in-  
dependence. Of these, two are the most  
important: first, the degree of enlighten-  
ment that the respective working class  
enjoys upon its political and economic  
situation; second, the attitude that the  
capitalist parties assume towards it.  
Both these circumstances have greatly  
promoted the movement of the working  
class in Germany, and hence it comes  
that the labor movement in Germany is  
further advanced than in any other  
country; and it is for just the reverse of  
these reasons, especially because of the  
hypocritical attitude of the political  
parties here, that with us the Labor  
Movement lags behind. But however  
the time may differ when, obedient to  
these different influences, the labor  
movement in a capitalist country takes  
the shape of a labor party, that time is  
sure to arrive as an inevitable result of  
the economic development.

At the same time every political party  
must strive to obtain the political upper-  
hand. It is bound to endeavor to turn  
the power of the State to its own ad-  
vantage, i. e., to use it in the interests of  
its class; in other words it is bound to  
endeavor to become the ruling party in  
the State. By the very fact of its organ-  
izing itself into an independent political  
party, the working class turns its face  
towards this ultimate goal—the con-  
quest of the political powers of the  
State; a goal which the economic de-  
velopment itself aids the working class  
to reach. In this respect also, the same  
as in respect to the time when the work-  
ingmen separate themselves from the  
capitalist parties, the time of their  
ultimate victory does not depend simply  
upon the degree of industrial develop-  
ment which the respective country may  
have reached, but upon a number of  
other circumstances both of national  
and international character. Further-  
more, the manner in which this triumph  
may be achieved may vary greatly in  
different countries. That, however, upon  
which there can be no doubt in the mind  
of any one who has followed the eco-  
nomic and political development of  
modern society, especially in the course  
of the last hundred years, is the CER-  
TAINTY AND INEVITABLENESS OF THE  
FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE PROLE-  
TARIAT. While the proletariat is  
steadily extending itself, while it is  
growing ever stronger in moral and  
political power, while it is becoming  
ever more an economic necessity, while  
the class struggle is training it more  
and more into habits of solidarity and  
discipline, while its class-conscious  
organizations become ever larger and  
more compact, while it becomes from  
day to day, the most important and  
finally the only working class upon  
whose industry the whole social body  
depends, while it undergoes all these  
important changes and thus progresses  
steadily, the classes that are hostile to  
it melt away with equal steadiness and  
rapidity; they steadily lose in moral and  
political strength; and they become not  
only superfluous, but a block to the  
progress of production which, under  
their superintendence, falls into greater  
and greater confusion, conjuring up  
more and more unbearable conditions.

In view of this, it cannot be doubtful  
to which side victory will finally  
lean. The property-holding classes have  
already been seized with fear at their  
approaching end. They hate to admit  
to themselves the precariousness of  
their situation; they try to deceive  
themselves with false pretences, and to  
draw their apprehensions, in hilarity  
and trivial jokes; they close their eyes  
to the abyss towards which they are  
rushing, and they do not seem to realize  
that by such a conduct they not only  
hasten their own downfall, but render it  
all the more disastrous to themselves."

As the last of the exploited classes,  
the working proletariat cannot put the  
power which it will conquer to the uses  
to which it was put by the previous  
classes, i. e., to roll the burden of ex-  
ploitation from its own upon the  
shoulders of some other exploited class.  
It is bound to use its power to put an  
end to its own and, along with that, to  
all forms of exploitation. The source  
of the exploitation to which it is now  
subject is the private ownership of the  
machinery of production. The prole-  
tariat can abolish its own exploitation  
only by abolishing private ownership in  
the machinery of production. The cir-  
cumstance of the proletariat being  
stripped of all property in the means of  
production renders it disposed to  
abolish private property in that; the  
exploitation to which the private own-  
ership of the means of production sub-  
jects the proletariat, compels it to abolish  
the capitalist system of production and  
to substitute it with the Socialist or  
Co-operative Commonwealth, in which  
the instruments of production cease to  
be private and become social property.

Under the rule of the capitalist  
system, i. e., of production for sale, co-  
operative production for use cannot be  
general. It is impossible to intro-  
duce the co-operative for the purpose of  
supplementing the capitalist system of  
production while at the same time keep-  
ing the latter in force. This self-evident  
proposition establishes the fact that the  
Socialist system of production must be  
the inevitable result of the triumph of  
the proletariat. Even if it were not  
consciously to use its supremacy in the  
State to recover possession of the ma-  
chinery of production and to replace the  
capitalist with the Socialist system, it  
would be compelled to do so by the logic  
of events, although in that case, not  
without committing many mistakes, in-  
curring much sacrifice and squandering  
much time and energy. The end of it  
all will, under all circumstances, be the  
Socialist system of production. Its  
triumph is unavoidable just so soon as  
that of the proletariat itself has become  
unavoidable. The proletariat is bound  
to use its triumph for the abolition of  
its own exploitation, and that it can  
never accomplish without establishing  
the Socialist order. The economic and  
political development itself, noticeable  
to-day in the large capitalist undertak-  
ings—the combinations, syndicates and  
trusts—point the proletariat the path to  
Socialism, and push it in that direction.

This stage of economic development  
which we have reached is certain to  
render abortive all attempts to move in  
a different direction which the pro-

letariat of any country may make, in  
case it should be disinclined to adopt  
the Socialist system.

It is, however, by no means to be ex-  
pected that the proletariat of any  
country, once it has come to power, will  
reveal any disinclination to adopt the  
Socialist system. To imagine that  
would be to imagine that the proletariat  
would be in its infancy at the same  
time that it had ripened politically, eco-  
nomically and morally into manhood,  
equipped with the power and ability  
to overcome its enemies and impose its  
will upon them. Such a disparity of  
growth is least imaginable with the prole-  
tariat. Thanks to machinery, so soon  
as the proletariat had risen above its  
original, degraded condition it revealed  
a thirst for the acquisition of knowledge  
and a taste for grappling with problems  
of social import. Side by side with this  
intellectual development on the part of  
some, the economic development of  
modern society moves on with such  
rapid strides that even those ranks of  
the proletariat that are least favored  
cannot fail to learn the lesson so  
strikingly taught by the large combina-  
tions of capital.

Everything combines to render the  
militant proletariat most accessible to  
the teachings of Socialism. To the prole-  
tariat, Socialism is no tidings of bad  
news, it is a veritable evangel. The  
ruling classes cannot accept Socialism  
without committing suicide; the prole-  
tariat, on the contrary, derives new  
life from Socialism, new vigor, new in-  
spiration and renewed hope. As time  
passes, Socialism can only become more  
and more acceptable to the proletariat.

In whatever country the proletariat  
reaches the point of establishing an in-  
dependent Labor Party, such a party is  
bound, sooner or later, to take on So-  
cialist tendencies, even if it were not  
animated from the start by the Socialist  
spirit. In the end such a party cannot  
choose but become a Socialist Labor  
Party.



UNCLE SAM &amp; BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan (looking furious)—  
I am an American, I am.

Uncle Sam—Something very bad  
must be biting you; but why do you  
growl at me?

B. J.—Because you are a Socialist, and  
you Socialists try to tyrannize us.

U. S.—In what way?

B. J.—You want to compel us union  
men to vote the way you think.

U. S.—If I understand you correctly,  
you mean that it is tyranny if the So-  
cialist members of the union to expel  
all the members of that union vote the  
S. L. P. ticket, and no other.

B. J.—That's what I mean, and I call  
it an unbearable tyranny.

U. S.—When the other day you voted  
to expel a man from our union because  
he was working for lower wages than  
our scale, did you thereby exercise  
tyranny on him?

B. J. (emphatically)—No!

U. S.—If not, why not?

B. J.—Because the maintenance of the  
union scale is necessary to our exist-  
ence.

U. S.—And when the very next day  
you voted along with me and the other  
Socialist members of the union to expel  
a member who worked longer hours  
than our scale, did you then act as a  
tyrant?

B. J.—No, sir.

U. S.—If not, why not?

B. J.—For the same reason. It is to  
the interest of all that the hours be re-  
duced.

U. S.—Accordingly, from what you  
say it appears that tyranny does not  
consist in the simple act of coercing a  
man to do a certain thing.



# IN THE MATTER OF THE PRINTERS.

TO THE HARK AND FILE OF THE WORKING CLASS, ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED, IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

The General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance desires to call your attention to a recent incident in the economic camp of labor that might otherwise escape you, and that, by escaping you, may deprive you of valuable light by which to guide your steps in the efforts you will soon be bound to make in order to rid yourselves of the increasingly galling yoke of wage-slavery, by ridding yourselves both of your capitalist exploiters and the lackeys of these—the labor fakirs.

Just about the time when the several political parties of capital in this city were launching their several fly-paper tickets to catch the labor vote, the not unusual spectacle was seen of a great stir amongst the "leading spirits," the office-holders and such other crooked beneficiaries of "pure and simple" unionism in the printing trade. Out of that stir sprang two documents. One was in German, written by August Baumann, of the German Typographical Union No. 7, and issued under the name of that union; the other in English, written and signed by Aug. Mc Craith, of No. 6, and published in the "Typographical Journal." Both purport to be an arraignment of the S. T. & L. A.

What were the grounds for this arraignment? These may be best understood, appreciated and seen through if read together. Here they are in parallel columns:

**Typographia No. 7's Version.**  
"The wage-workers in the printers' Union 83 went into it (the S. T. & L. A.) craft of the United States are already A.) but bolted when the Socialist Trade Alliance organized under the name of Inter-Labor Alliance organized a rival national Typographical Union, with pressmen's union to the International which the German-American Typo-Graphical Union affiliations, which graphia, as well as the Hebrew Typo-Union refused to recognize or support. graphia Union No. 83 are affiliated. . . . Of late No. 83 found it necessary. A few members of the last named sary to go on strike (thereupon the S. Union, who have either acceded or were T. & L. A.) organized a rat union, and expelled, formed, under the leadership took their places."  
of a boss, the Progressive Hebrew Typographical Union, and as such were admitted to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. A short time ago this 'progressive' union dropped, for reasons of its own, the name Hebrew, and is now trying to place their label in English, Hebrew, Hungarian and German offices. The members of this progressive union work very long hours, and for about one-half of the scale paid in English and German offices."

The ripened experience of the human race has established the principle of evidence that when two witnesses, appearing in a case common to both, give conflicting testimonies, they both lie, and prove themselves conspirators, stupid ones at that, in a scheme of fraud.

Here we have two men, both members of the same national organization, both residing in this city; both "giving testimony" on the same thing, and that thing an occurrence in this very city and in their own craft; both claiming to know all about it; each addressing the public in a different language; both, consequently, straining to give all publicity possible to the "iniquities" that they jointly appear in red paint over, yet each giving a wholly different version of the affair? Nor could it be otherwise. It is a feature of falsehood that it never tallies with itself. The fabrication of reasons to condemn the S. T. & L. A. is a condition precedent for fakirs' attacks. Messrs. Baumann & Mc Craith had to invent; and by that providential dispensation that deprives rogues of common sense, they did not take the precaution of comparing notes. Each was thrown upon his own imagination, with the result that they fall foul of each other in not presenting the same allegations as they would have done had there been any truthful ones to present.

We would close here if our only purpose were self defense; in sight of such "testimony," as above confronted with each other, no further answer is needed. But our object reaches further. It aims at such complete nailing of whatever fakir we can catch as may help the rank and file to know them, and, knowing, hasten to throw them overboard. For these reasons we here give the facts in the case.

On Dec. 7, 1895, the United Hebrew Trades joined the Central Labor Federation and D. A. 49, K. of L. in organizing the S. T. & L. A., and it received a charter as District Alliance No. 2. AMONG THE CONSTITUENT BODIES OF D. A. NO. 2, HOLDING CHARTERS FROM THE S. T. & L. A., AND RECOGNIZING EACH OTHER, were the Hebrew Typographical Union (affiliated with Messrs. Baumann & Mc Craith's International Typographical Union) and the Pressmen's Union (referred to by Mr. Mc Craith, and not affiliated with the I. T. U.)

This was the state of things when, on Oct. 18, 1896, a disagreement broke out between the Pressmen's Union and Boss Lipschitz, of 173 East Broadway, New York, WHERE BOTH THE PRESSMEN'S UNION AND H. T. U. WERE AT THE TIME WORKING IN HARMONY, RECOGNIZING EACH OTHER AS AFFILIATED UNIONS. The pressmen demanded higher wages; they were getting \$8 and \$10; they demanded \$9 and \$11, which were the wages they received in other shops. Boss Lipschitz refused and locked out the pressmen. After all attempts of D. A. No. 2 to settle the trouble had failed, the D. A., on Oct. 29, declared a boycott against Boss Lipschitz, WITHOUT H. T. U. OB-JECTING, and, on that day, ordered H. T. U., as an affiliated body, out of Boss Lipschitz's place to sustain the pressmen. H. T. U. obeyed, but WITHIN 48 HOURS RETURNED TO WORK, AND BY ITS ACTION HELPED DEFEAT ITS STRIKING FELLOW MEMBERS OF D. A. NO. 2 IN THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THEIR CONDITION. Scabism does not consist only in men of one trade taking the places of men on strike; it is substantially the same if men of kindred trades go to work in a shop where there is a strike, and, by so doing, enable the boss to beat the men on strike; and the act is all the more scabish when done by an affiliated organization. FOR THIS ACT OF SCABISM H. T. U. WAS EXPELLED BY D. A. NO. 2 ON NOV. 16, 1896. H. T. U. thereupon appealed to the General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A., before whom it appeared on Dec. 30, 1896. It there sought to throw the blame of its misdeed upon the General Officers of the I. T. U. "The G. E. B. rejected the excuse as mala fide; it decided that H. T. U. had wilfully violated its union obligations in a scabish manner; and IT AFFIRMED THE ACTION OF D. A. NO. 2 IN EXPEL-LING IT.

Unless sustained by compositors, the pressmen's union was in an exposed condition. The scabism of H. T. U. first suggested the idea of organizing a bona fide union of Hebrew compositors into the S. T. & L. A. A glance at the condition of the bulk of the Hebrew compositors on the East Side soon showed that the field was large and the work urgent. Obedient to the same scab instincts that had led the H. T. U. to desert its comrades in the midst of a fight, and help the boss beat them, that "union" not only neglected, but studiously avoided to organize most of the Hebrew workers of its craft. H. T. U. DID NOT WANT THEM IN ITS FOLD; IF THEY WERE THERE, IT WOULD HAVE TO TAKE UP THEIR CAUSE. H. T. U. is not in existence for any such purpose. It is not an organization of labor, as it does not seek to organize the working class. It is a parody of capitalist concerns, built for the exclusive benefit of its own stockholders, and with the purpose of keeping all others out. H. T. U. did not want any more members lest its "dividends" be reduced; least of all did it want members for the improvement of whose condition it would have to exert itself to fight and spend money. Hence the hours of work of most Hebrew compositors are longer, their wages lower, their condition worse than those of the organized compositors at work, and they were doomed by the H. T. U. and the whole I. T. U. for that matter, to remain so if that "union" were to be left alone. In view of all this, in July, 1897, the Progressive Hebrew Typographical Union was organized. The S. T. & L. A. went down to these cast-off fellow proletarians—cast off by their own infamous fellow but organized crafts-men; it set up an organization amongst them; it has since been taking all possible preparatory steps to raise these men out of the wretched conditions in which, with the knowledge, consent, and connivance of the H. T. U., German Typographia No. 7 and English Union No. 6, they were being held down; and it is making palpable progress in this direction. This progress it is that arouses the ire of H. T. U. and its pals, and they justly see in the rebuke the doom of their own ignominious existence.

Thus Mr. Mc Craith's version turns out to be a string of clumsy falsehoods: It is false that H. T. U. refused to recognize the Pressmen's Union;—both were in existence at the same time in D. A. No. 2, and worked harmoniously in Boss Lipschitz's shop;

It is false that H. T. U. "bolted";—it was expelled for scabbing on a fellow union;

It is false that Progressive Hebrew Typographical Union was organized at a time when H. T. U. was on strike and to rat it on the latter;—it was organized when H. T. U. had no strike, mainly out of material that H. T. U. capitalistically kept out of unionism, and exclusively in unorganized shops.

That much for Mr. Mc Craith. Now for Mr. Baumann and his Typographia No. 7.

The only specific allegation made in Mr. Baumann's and No. 7's document is that the newly organized union works under worse conditions than the English or German compositors. The Jesuitism of this argument has already been exposed. Were it for No. 7, No. 6, or their protégé H. T. U., the newly organized men could never hope to rise; they are where they are thanks to No. 7 and such precious "unionists." Their only hope of salvation lay in the S. T. & L. A.—an organization of labor with whom the "solidarity of labor" is not an empty phrase, and a cloak for "pure and simple" rascality. But we may not yet dismiss this document of No. 7 and its Mr. Baumann. It is well worth a closer inspection by bona fide unionism.

This document is cast in a different mold from Mr. Mc Craith's. While Mr. Mc Craith's stands out in all the clumsiness and rawness of the "pure and simple" fakir, who sees in the rise of a bona fide union the death of his own nefarious "pure and simpledom," loses his head, and simply seeks to break down the rising danger to his occupation as fakir, the document of Mr. Baumann and his No. 7 comes in a somewhat different guise.

Typographia No. 7 and its Mr. Baumann are an "older civilization," so to speak, than Mr. Mc Craith. Much though the former may detest the bona fide or Socialist union, they detest still more the Socialist Labor party. They see further than merely the bona fide economic organization; they see beyond that the Socialist political organization. They see in the S. T. & L. A. more than Mr. Mc Craith does; they see in it a powerful aid to and ally of the S. L. P. Mr. Baumann and his No. 7 are Anarchists. In raising their hands they accord-

ingly aim only incidentally at the S. T. & L. A.; their thrust is meant to sweep in both the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. The exigencies of their purpose determine their methods.

It is the Anarchists' trick everywhere to put on the Socialist mask among Socialists; in this way he expects to have a chance to stab the Socialist movement in the dark and from behind. Accordingly, the document of No. 7 and its Mr. Baumann comes forward with the Jesuit's smirk. It protests its "CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS," its DEVOTION TO THE LABOR PRESS, AND THE S. L. P. PRESS IN PARTICULAR, AND ITS ESTEEM FOR THE EMBLEM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY—THE ARM AND HAMMER. With this Socialist mask on, it invokes the attitude of the Socialists in Germany towards trade unions, and it strikes an attitude of righteous indignation at the conduct of the S. T. & L. A. in ORGANIZING A UNION IN A TRADE ALREADY ORGANIZED.

All this forces the question, Who and what are these Mr. Baumann and his Typographia No. 7? Let us see.

About seven years ago, this No. 7, which was not then affiliated with the I. T. U., and would not on the ground of the latter's "impurity," became involved in a fierce struggle with No. 6, of the I. T. U. Typographia No. 7's men had been pushed out of the "Morgen Journal" at the instigation of No. 6. During the fight, this No. 7, which now rants against organizing the printers working in unorganized shops, and whom the I. T. U. neglects to organize, SOUGHT TO ORGANIZE AN ENGLISH PRINTERS' UNION IN OPPOSITION TO NO. 6! It was right. With the aid of the Socialists it brought No. 6 down; and, having gained its point, it joined the I. T. U., whom it had declared "impure," and who has continued since, as before, to be run in this city especially, for the benefit of the few at the expense of the rank and file, and as a regular indorser of labor-browbeating capitalist parties.

In order to strengthen its arm against No. 6, during the fight, No. 7 joined the Socialist central labor body in this city, the Central Labor Federation, now D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A. When the fight was over, No. 7 ceased to have any use for the C. L. F., or the Socialists in general. Its delegates to the C. L. F. became noted for their perversity to the S. L. P.; until finally they appeared in their true colors. In 1893 the ex-convict, German Anarchist dynamite Heinrich Weissmann, started in this city an opposition central body of labor, the "New York Federation of Labor," under the pontifical blessing of the Anarchist Johann Most and the capitalist paper, the "Staats-Zeitung." Among the first to join and push along this ANTI-SOCIALIST AND RIVAL BODY BOOMED BY A CAPITALIST PAPER, was, who? None other than this "Socialist loving," anti-rival labor organization, Typographia No. 7. Subsequently, when the ridiculous thing died, Typographia No. 7 walked over to Archibald's and Maher's Central Labor Union, where it still is.

More recently, the well-known Anarchist, William Merten, a member of this No. 7, being commissioned by his organization on a tour through several cities, took the opportunity everywhere to run down, not only the S. L. P., but the Socialist paper, the "New Yorker Volks-Zeitung," too. And what did No. 7 do although fully apprized of the fact? This organization, that would not exist to-day but for the "Volks-Zeitung," and that now crawls before the Socialists claiming love and affection for their press, ENDORSED MERTEN BY ITS SILENCE. Merten was never recalled and never reproved.

Again, the unemployed in No. 7 are numerous. How does this "class-conscious," this "solidarity of labor" loving organization treat them? Most inhumanely. It watches every opportunity it can to cheat them out of their out-of-work benefit, and at the merest slip expels them. The employed Anarchists and class-conscious members earning, thanks to the whole organization, \$4.50 per night, disown their unemployed brothers. Only the other day one of these "class-conscious" worthies delivered himself in the union in these words: "We support only those members who may become dangerous to us. I don't see why we should support people who can't harm us. When I pay my quarter I want to know what I pay it for."—AND SUCH IS THE TERROR WITH WHICH THE RASCALLY ANARCHIST "CLASS-CONSCIOUS" GENTRY DOMINATES THIS UNION, THAT NOT ONE MEMBER PRESENT DARED RAISE A PROTEST.

In direct connection with this peculiar class-consciousness, we must here refer to a letter addressed to the "Volks-Zeitung" by this No. 7 in these days. In that letter No. 7 pathetically implores the aid of the Socialists against the new union organized by the S. T. & L. A. on the ground that it imperils the 8-hour day—No. 7's "great conquest on behalf of labor."—This is a choice bit of Jesuitism, as choice a bit of insinuation of falsehood as any yet taken up. The attempt is thereby made to suggest the notion that this No. 7 has gained a victory for labor by its 8-hour day. But what are the facts?

Out of over 14,000 compositors in New York City, not 5,000 are organized; and out of these 5,000, not 1,500 enjoy the eight-hour-day;—fully 12,500, i. e., an overwhelming majority of the craft in this city alone are just as though this alleged "conquest for labor" had never been made. But besides this, besides the fact that this "victory" was not won for the working class, not even for the "conquerors" No. 7's own fellow-craftsmen, the treatment inflicted on its own unemployed members by this "class-conscious" "solidarity of labor" invoking Typographia No. 7, shows that its "victory" was not a victory EVEN FOR THOSE OF ITS OWN MEMBERS, WHO, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD FOUGHT AND HELPED TO WIN IT, HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY LOST THEIR JOBS. The treatment dealt out to these unfortunates, whom Mr. Baumann's No. 7 watches every opportunity to trip up and expel from the union, so as not to have to share with them the benefit of the eight-hour day, proves beyond cavil that the eight-hour day "victory" in the hands of the Baumanns who control No. 7 is not a "victory for labor" but only a plum for the vampires on labor, on whose impure lips the "solidarity of labor" is but a word to traffic on for their own vicious private ends.

Finally, what sort of an organization is it that this "Socialist loving" Typographia No. 7 steps into the lists to break a lance for? What sort of a thing is that Hebrew Typographical Union which No. 7 loves so tenderly? In the examination of Mr. Mc Craith's charges we have drawn its profile. Sufficient facts were there mentioned to brand it a pest on the economic field. But what of its political attitude? By what acts has it merited the affection of "Socialist loving" No. 7? Let us see.

At all points the political attitude of H. T. U. has been one of political scabism, with a special venom for the S. L. P.—very much like Mr. Baumann and his No. 7. At the late election, however, it (the H. T. U.) transcended every scampish act of its long scamp political career, and went to the full logical extent thereof. The Jewish "Abendblatt," which is an official organ in Jewish of the S. L. P., and whose compositors' room is controlled by that H. T. U., appeared on the very eve of last election, Nov. 1, with an article in which the voters were given false instruction how to vote: instead of an X in the circle under the S. L. P. emblem, as provided by law, they were told to make another mark, to wit, . . . How did this happen? THE FALSE SIGN WAS PUT THERE WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF THE H. T. U. FOREMAN AND AN H. T. U. COMPOSITOR. The mistake was corrected by the proofreader, and returned to the composing room, BUT THE H. T. U. FOREMAN AND COMPOSITOR LEFT THAT ERROR UNTOUCHED. The error was corrected a second time by the proofreader, AND A SECOND TIME THE H. T. U. FOREMAN AND COMPOSITOR LEFT IT UNTOUCHED; AND THUS THE JEWISH OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE S. L. P., LARGELY READ BY JEWISH VOTERS, WAS PRINTED AND WENT OUT TO ITS READERS ON THE VERY EVE OF ELECTION, CONVEYING INFORMATION THAT WAS INTENDED TO COST THE S. L. P. A LARGE NUMBER OF VOTES! Nor can the excuse be raised that this was an act of individual viciousness for which the H. T. U. organization can not be held responsible; it was applauded as a "clever stroke" by the organization, which, moreover, caused "unofficial" committees of its own to work against the S. L. P. in certain Assembly Districts, and spread criminal charges against S. L. P. candidates, with the precaution, however, always taken by such gentlemen, of never putting their charges in writing, knowing that, if they did, they would promptly be landed in the penitentiary as criminal libelers. Such is the character of the "union" in whose behalf "Socialist loving" Typographia No. 7 and its Mr. Baumann have gone, and continued to, be on the war path—and all that "for the greater glory and honor of the S. L. P."

This indictment could be continued indefinitely. Enough has been said to strip the hypocrites of their mask. The characteristics revealed by these historic facts REMAIN TO THIS DAY THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPOGRAPHIA NO. 7.

It displays its "unionistic intelligence" by furnishing the Bureau of Labor in this State with false reports on the status of that organization; and, during its strike against the "Staats-Zeitung," by threatening to boycott at the polls Grover Cleveland, the capitalist candidate of that paper for President;

It displays its "esteem for the Socialist Labor party" by denouncing and keeping away from it; its Mr. Baumann himself is not a member of the S. L. P., and for 15 years has been noted as one of its slanderers. Indeed, few members of No. 7 are members of the S. L. P., or vote its ticket; most of them, if they vote at all, vote for the capitalist parties.

It displays its "loyalty to the labor press" by abstaining from joining the German organization of labor established for the promotion of the labor press; by traducing that press, and seeking to destroy it; its precious Mr. Baumann himself, for instance, as Secretary of the Labor Conference in 1893, was convicted on a certain occasion of falsifying the minutes so as to make it appear that the conferees were opposed to THE PEOPLE, and this at a time when that paper's existence hung by a thread; and it furthermore displays its "loyalty to the labor press" by discriminating against poor labor and Socialist papers, in favor of rich capitalist ones, as it did when it aided and abetted a strike against the Philadelphia "Tageblatt" on the pretense of that paper's using plate matter, while it left untouched the rival German and capitalist paper, the Philadelphia "Demokrat"; and others that used infinitely more plate matter, in fact drove a plate matter business.

It displays its "opposition to rival organizations" by joining and ever seeking to start such wherever its own exclusive interests or its Anarchistic hatred of the S. L. P. can be served.

It displays its "class-consciousness" and its sense of the "solidarity of labor" by treating its own unemployed as pariahs; by seeking to keep the unorganized; who are the overwhelming majority of the working class, out of organizations; and by acting as an advertising agent or "puller-in" for capitalist papers;—the very document in question has it fourth page ornamented with the names of the capitalist papers that this "class-conscious" organization recommends to the working class.

Such is the "union" that ventures to invoke the Socialists of Germany. In Socialist Germany such an abortion of unionism could simply not exist except in a spiritus bottle. Such is the union that dares masquerade under Socialist pretensions, and has the insolence to point its unclean finger at the S. T. & L. A.

Fellow Workingmen:—As illustrated by the conduct of Typographia No. 7 and this H. T. U., "pure and simple" leadership, not only refuses to organize and thereby to unify the workers, but it even recruits the army of the unorganized by its nefarious practices towards its own unemployed; as illustrated by the conduct of these "unionists" their "unions" are not organizations for the consolidation of the working class, but imitations, caricatures, of capitalist concerns, to be run in competition with and at the cost of everybody else; such "unionists" and "unionism" would keep the working class eternally divided, with the masses sinking ever lower.

The S. T. & L. A. was born of this fact. It pledged itself to devote its efforts

to the work of consolidating the working class by pursuing the only policy that can accomplish this; and it clearly stated that it would wage war to the knife against any man or set of men, who, whether corruptly or ignorantly, sought to keep the proletariat divided through pure and simpledom, such men being no better than, in fact, the buffers of capitalism.

The emphatic approval of these views by the National Convention of the S. L. P., subsequently ratified by referendum vote, showed that the days had gone by when the S. L. P. could be duped or browbeaten by fakirdom.

More recently, at the late election, the still more cheerful sign was seen of the decline of the fakirs' prestige among the masses. Despite the hysterical opposition of pure and simpledom, the S. L. P. vote went up everywhere in the land, notably in those districts where the S. L. P. comrades were most aggressive and uncompromising against the lackeys of capital—the fakirs.

These are not incidents that should be allowed to pass unperceived. All of them should be separately and jointly studied by the class-conscious and the uprising proletariat. They all denote the dawn of the coming day. The howl of the fakirs is an evidence that he feels the steel of New Unionism entering his soul, while the progress of the S. L. P. denotes that his howlings are vainer than the barkings of dogs at the moon.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S. T. & L. A.  
ERNEST BOHM, General Secretary.

New York, Nov. 17, 1897.

## DEBS' INCAPACITY.

Unable to Understand the Class Struggle, he Wears Against Individuals and Has a Career of Failure.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 23.—During the course of a speech delivered in Baltimore last week, Eugene V. Debs used the words: "We do not war with individuals," more than once—yet before he got through he had singled out some 20 or 30 individuals and held them up to contempt and scorn. That fact, taken in consideration with others, it is fair to assume, especially as Debs displayed carelessness in the use of terms, that he meant to say, "We do not recognize the class struggle"—indeed that is exactly the position that his personal organ, the Chicago "Social Democrat," maintains in an editorial article in its issue of the 11th instant.

This explains Debs' whole policy and his series of failures in the past, and it foreshadows his inevitable failure in the future. Debs has since 1894 been engaged in the business of hurling masses of the working class against individuals, and has sapped, to a great extent, the enthusiasm and spirit of those who followed his leadership in those contests, as witness the following:

The first strike engineered and conducted by the A. R. U. was that on the Great Northern Railway, which took place in May, 1894, and extended from St. Paul to the Pacific Coast. During the early part of that strike, which was a sure victory from the start on account of the simultaneous "march of Coxey" upon Washington, which at first frightened Cleveland, and caused him to concentrate the troops in Washington, Debs was in Chicago, and the papers of Minneapolis and St. Paul were calling him all manner of names, stopping at nothing, and doing all in their power to frighten the strikers by holding the A. R. U. up as an Anarchistic organization, and its leader as an Anarchist. The effort failed for the reasons above stated; the papers changed front; and Debs, who had meanwhile arrived in the "Twin Cities," was a "scholar," a "gentleman" in fact "he must be a college graduate"; they slobbered all over him. Then the business men of both cities took him up, lunched him, jollied him, loaded to him, and at last got him to let an absolute victory slide through his hands and to accept the decision of a board of arbitrators, which decision was, as usual, a miserable compromise, accepted on the part of "Jim" Hill—THE INDIVIDUAL DEBS WAS ATTACKING AT THE TIME—ostensibly as a defeat, but really as an armistice.

Then in July came the big strike, known as the "A. R. U. strike," which was, when all the facts shall be known, really forced by the railroad managers, who had noticed the strength of an organization which embraced all railroad workers, and were determined to break it up. Debs thought he would surely get the assistance of those who had lunched him, jollied him, and spoken so nice of him. Did he get it? Abern! From the beginning the papers, not alone of Chicago, New York, Boston, etc., but the papers of St. Paul and Minneapolis, who only two months before were referring to him as "a man capable of filling any position," called him "insurrectionist," "incendiary," "out-law," "Anarchist," etc., etc., whilst the gentlemen who lunched him, jollied him and spoke so nice to him, caused themselves to be interviewed to the effect that they were altogether mistaken in Mr. Debs, and considered him as a "violinist of their confidence," who "had misled them as to his real nature," etc., etc. Every pettifogging shyster, every little insignificant little business man, every tool and toady of capitalism, joined in the one great chorus of vilification and abuse. Did Debs see the trees in the wood? Did he perceive the class behind the individuals? No. Debs went on fighting certain individuals and appealing to others—not understanding that at the time of the Great Northern strike the capitalist class was not prepared for him, and could not gather its forces together sufficiently to overpower him; so it temporized with him until it was strong enough to drop the kid glove of taffy to strike with the iron gauntlet of class hate and force—and to strike all the harder because they remembered the way they had crawled to him.

How Debs was arrested, put in jail and defeated in all his appeals from the sentence is common history; likewise is it common history that all through that struggle of '94—the individuals whom Debs was opposing had the support and countenance of every weapon of the capitalist class, including the press, pulpit, State legislatures, the President, Congress, army, militia, and every force and factor that could be brought to bear. Not once did the capitalist class show any signs of individualism. It presented a united front. AS A CLASS it demanded his arrest; AS A CLASS, it gloried in it; AS A CLASS, it urged his punishment; AS A CLASS, it became hysterically joyful when his punishment was accomplished; AS A CLASS, it sustained the individuals he was warring with in all that was done. And why? Because they hated and feared Mr. Debs? Nay, nay; but because they hated and feared the class behind him; because they feared that the working class might unite. Now, then, all of that experience Mr. Debs went through. Is there any other man in this or any other country who has had the class struggle pushed up in front of him as has Mr. Debs? Yet we find him ne ways differing from the Debs of five years ago. Because he cannot, or will not, recognize the class struggle, we find him compelled to WAR WITH INDIVIDUALS, as he did in his speech, referring to one capitalist as a "just judge," and to another as a "colossal robber," to a collection of capital-

ists as "capable of generating more odors than Coleridge found in Cologne;" and another collection "over-burdened poor sufferers, who were bending under the curse of too much money." Debs can no more stop warring with individuals than he could stop eating. Because not understanding or deliberately ignoring the class struggle, he is compelled to create a monstrosity called by him the "capitalistic system," which is, but never was; which exists, yet has no being; which lives, yet is supported by nothing and nobody—a very Frankenstein, which overpowers himself and against which all efforts come to naught. Such being the case, to create some human interest in his auditors, it becomes necessary to attack individuals—and Debs has the happy knack of picking out for the shafts of his ridicule and contempt those individuals who, in the interest of and at the behest of their class, have soundly thrashed him. Until such time as Mr. Debs is capable of understanding that was with or between individuals must cease, that the capitalist, who was a "just judge" in one instance was an unjust judge two weeks after—as Mr. Debs very well knows—and that the "just judge" and the "business man," the "odorous judge" and the "corporation attorney" as individuals are non-existent, that they are but members of the capitalist class doing the bidding of that class; and that opposed to that class is the working class—until he understands that the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Populist Party, and the others of that ilk, are the chief supports of the capitalist system, that they are run and controlled by the capitalist class, and is brave enough to say it,—until such time as he is able to point to those who are responsible for the capitalist system and is not afraid to investigate, and then to state the conclusions such investigation will force on him,—until then he will be lacking the first requisites necessary in a leader of thoughtful, earnest men, and will be a misfit in such a position which he craves for, and dangerous in that he is liable to waste the energy and enthusiasm of the working class in useless attempts to lay a ghost.

ARTHUR KEEP.

## PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists east, west, North and South.

**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.**  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretaries: Henry Kahn, 14 William street, N. Y.; NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary: Robert Handlow, 130 Champlain st., Cleveland, O.

**National Executive Committee.**  
Meeting held November 23, with Comrade Matchett in the chair. The financial report for the week ending Nov. 20 showed receipts to have been \$23.10; expenditures, \$23.85; deficit, 75c. Alex. Nelson, of Jersey, Arizona, was, upon application, admitted as a member at large.

Resolved to arrange an agitation tour through the New England States in conjunction with the State Committees, the speaker to be Harry Carless, who is to go with the stereopticon. The secretary was instructed to confer with the State Committees in regard to the tour. A charter was granted for a new Section at Granville, Vermont.

C. L. FURMAN, Rec. Secy. pro tem.

**New Jersey.**  
HOBOKEN, N. J., Nov. 21.—The half-yearly meeting of Section Hudson County will be held on Sunday, December 5, 1897, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, in Boeckmann's Hall, 408 Fallside avenue, Jersey City Heights. All comrades are requested to attend this meeting. Fraternally.

AUG. E. SCHROEDER, Secretary pro tem.  
NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 25.—Comrade Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, will speak in Newark on Saturday night in Essex County Socialist Club Rooms, 76 Springfield avenue. All party members are expected to be present. The Section has also completed arrangements for two lectures each Sunday, commencing Dec. 5, at Messors's Hall, 116 Elm street, at 3 p. m.; Headquarters, 76 Springfield avenue, at 8 p. m.

The following are the speakers:  
Dec. 5—Dr. C. L. Furman.  
" 12—J. T. Hunter.  
" 19—E. Kirchner.  
" 26—Jas. Allman.  
Jan. 2—P. E. Burrows.  
" 9—C. Edlin.  
" 16—P. C. Vanderporten.  
" 23—C. H. Matchett.  
" 30—Thomas A. Hickey.  
Members are expected to assist in handing out cards advertising these meetings. ORGANIZER.

**New York.**  
18th A. D.—This evening Hugo Vogt lectures on "Class Struggles in America" at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 E. 17th street.

The next meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday, Nov. 27th, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, New York. Delegates should not fail to attend.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

A mass meeting will be held under the auspices of the 7th Assembly District on Saturday, November 27th, at 8 p. m., at Brady's Hotel, 243-245 West 17th street, at which prominent English and German speakers will be present. The admission is free.



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## A SOCIALIST ON WHEELS.

(Continued from Page 1.)

grant. In "them good old days" the travel and traffic on parts of this great road were so congested that for miles the noses of the horses of one team could touch the rear of the wagon just ahead. But that has long ago vanished. And why? Because the primitive tool of transportation, i.e., the road and wagon, gave way to a more and ever more perfect one, the railroad and locomotive. It reminds me, in this connection, of the howl sent up by the teamsters of Pennsylvania in the thirties when the locomotive, just before ridiculed by the "sensible, practical" people, came in and smashed their business into smithereens. Here is the howl:

Come all ye bold wagoners  
And turn out man by man,  
Who are opposed to railroads,  
Or any such plan;  
For once we made our living  
By hauling with our team,  
But now the goods are hauled  
On the railroads by steam.

The "pottery" ain't anything "extry," but it shows very clearly where they were hit—"our living," our stomach, our centre of gravity—and what hit them, the larger tool.

My mileage, from July 3 to October 28, was 2,000. Of course, sometimes but not often, owing to rains and long jumps, I had to go by train. Manifestly, on a tour of this kind, it is impossible to run up a large mileage. The place at which you speak on a given date ought to be reached by noon, or two or three o'clock at the latest, so as to get your permit, get a notice in the evening papers, post your bills, interview connections, if any, attend to correspondence, etc. The work is very hard, especially when travelling in hilly country with a lot of baggage—often veritable cart-horse work. That, together with your afternoon work, and a red-hot speech at night, uses up about all the energy a man has. This mode of travel develops a great leg, sometimes like that of a mule—drive a door off its hinges first blow.

The bicycle is very useful in regions like the mining regions, where many small towns are close together, yet have very poor railroad service. With a bicycle, many of them can be visited in a single day. Sometimes I visited three in one day. One day I attended to matters in five different small mining towns—the two extremes being about thirty miles apart.

I will not state what make of wheel I ride for fear of creating dissensions in the party. I may mention, though, I suppose, that the weight is about 23 pounds and gear 68, with 64 in. cranks. I carried twelve to fifteen pounds of baggage in a grip strapped on behind the saddle against the rear stays, also two tool-bags. I repaired all punctures myself, of which I had about four in both tires, single tubers, broke the chain twice (it had seen much service before the tour anyway), and one crank (the cranks were made too light in the start, and this one couldn't stand the strain of climbing. Fortunately I had an extra one along). I had no other mishaps or accidents.

May interest wheelmen to know that a certain wheel listing at \$100, and selling last spring at \$75, was produced as I learned from the superintendent where it was made, for about \$20, and that this year the same make of wheel would be manufactured for less than \$15. These figures include EVERYTHING. Note that this wheel is made in a comparatively small factory, and that in a large factory, like Pope's, where things are done on a large scale and other economies are possible, a \$100 wheel can be made for less than the small factory makes the second-grade wheel.

Some ideological noddies cherish the notion that a bicycle capitalist is more altruistic than the ordinary capitalist. Let me tell them of Lozier (whose concern, perhaps now the largest bicycle concern in the world, makes the Cleveland bicycle). This fall he starts in to coin the lives of children, introducing into his factory at Toledo 500 girls to displace men. They run all kinds of machinery, doing polishing, buffing, plating, drilling, milling, punching dies, making chains, inspecting, packing, etc. The men used to average \$1.75 a day; the girls, doing the same amount of work, get half and less.

At Hagerstown, Md., I found 20 men, most of whom have families, employed by the Crawford Bicycle Works as fillers at 35 cents a day! Many workmen there get but 60 cents a day. An unusually large proportion of these men are Americans. This would seem to be American pauper labor.

It will interest many to know that, when this concern employed 1,600 men, only 75 to 100 of them were skilled, the rest being common laborers, many of them farm-hands. The proportion of unskilled labor steadily increases. There are inventors employed by this concern and others who never receive a cent for their inventions, these being "appropriated" by the capitalist, and the employees getting merely ordinary wages.

I know of one bicycle factory, started a year or so ago, where one man superintended the setting up of the machinery, and after that the place was run by him and inexperienced hands, most of them boys, only a few tool-makers being needed in the way of skilled labor. These facts do not harmonize very well with the statements contained in bicycle catalogues setting forth in bombastic language the great number of highly skilled and highly paid workmen employed, the great cost of wheels, etc. No wonder the export of bicycles to Europe has jumped from \$900,000 in '96 to \$1,800,000 in '97. Foreign manufacturers, by the way, are setting up a great howl, and some demand a tariff against American wheels.

As to agitation—for by this time the non-cyclist is frenzied. Some idea has been given in previous issues of THE PEOPLE as to my work in that line. I organized in all 25 Sections—24 in Ohio and 1 in Pennsylvania. Nearly all the Sections are miners' Sections. I spoke all the way going out, beginning at Lancaster, Pa., July 3, and, coming back, wound up at Shamokin, Pa., on November 1.

I must report almost everywhere great sympathy with the movement. This I know will not manifest itself so greatly at present in the vote, but to the student it looks very gratifying for the near future. It will doubtless interest many to hear that two of three most enthusiastic meetings took place in Republican strongholds, where a Socialist had never before set foot. In one of these places—Niles, O.—two Bryan men last fall tried for an hour in vain to make themselves heard, and one of them intimated to me that I should have very poor, if any, success there. I spoke there, however, to a very large and attentive audience, and when, at the close, I handed out leaflets, the rush to get them was so great as almost to knock me off my soap box. At Leetonia, a Populist town, the crowd gave three cheers when I finished, although I wound up with a black eye for both gold bugs and silver bugs. Many cases like this I could relate if space permitted.

I wish here to give a little experience in agitation. I brought many Republicans and several well-to-do middle-class people of different parties straight across to out-and-out Socialism; who did not find it at all necessary first to imbibe the errors and vagaries of Populism before they could become clear Socialists. On the contrary, often their fancy that our ideas and tactics were similar or identical with those errors and vagaries has been a distinct hindrance to us in getting their attention. The teaching of mathematical errors does not facilitate the true study of mathematics, but is a permanent obstacle to it. Likewise the way to a correct understanding of the principles of true political economy does not lie through a maze of errors and half-truths. These false impressions in many cases are a life-long stumbling block. For instance, I find men, once Greenbackers, later on trying "to get something new" through the People's Party, thrown down by it, trying to get "one thing at a time" through Billy Bryan (and getting more than one thing at a time "in the neck") now holding up the corpse of the People's Party or playing as tobs to the tail of Mr. Debs' kite.

As to the Debs movement in Ohio, it is motionless. Like everywhere else, what little there is of it, is composed of fakirs, a conglomerate mass of Anarchists, Single Taxers, Sixteen-to-Oners, the "perambulating faction" and a few honest confusionists. What the movement means is not that there has been any additional number of clear-headed Socialists made (this the first and greatest pre-requisite), but simply that isolated and disconnected gangs of political gamblers, together with "rudderless Utopians"—these almost all in existence for many years—have now been experimentally united under Debs & Co. It is a movement, leaving aside the question of honesty in the object for which it was founded, that lacks the great essentials of force and aggressiveness (as many Ohio comrades know from personal contact), the moral courage and sound scientific footing to withstand adversity, is composed of elements of divergent views and interests bound eventually to split the organization, and the utopian element, attracted by a personality and not a principle, must fall apart when Debs, the object of worship, collapses, a very safe prediction when we consider Debs' vacillating public acts and the company he keeps.

In reference to fakirs, let me tell you of the tricks of Holy Moses Sovereign. In Glouster, O., where we have a Section of 45 members, he delivered a strongly Socialistic speech, although making bad breaks now and then. Next night he spoke at Nelsonville, where no Socialist had yet appeared, and made an out-and-out 16-to-1 speech, although he made no reference to that "paramount question." I believe, at Glouster, I know this from a Glouster Comrade, who heard him at both places—Comrade Echtenkamper, an old veteran.

At the same place—Glouster—Ratford, president of United Mine Workers, the Republican decoy duck, preached the uselessness of political action, citing as proof past experience in America, and the Fenians, Nihilists, Communists, etc.; the strike was labor's only weapon. It was about the same time that Billy Bryan, Democratic decoy duck, in his Labor Day speech at St. Louis, said that "all improvement must come from efforts outside of politics." . . . . . Until arbitration is secured, the strike is the only weapon within the reach of labor." How strikingly out of their own mouths do they convict themselves of criminal ignorance and treachery!

As to prosperity.—Perhaps at present there are a few more men employed than in the beginning of the year, though it can hardly more than counterbalance the great number who were thrown out of work after the Presidential election. I found in almost every town last summer fewer men employed than at the time of the Presidential election, and at a reduction in wages of 5 per cent. to 25 per cent. in some cases much more. At Bellaire, O., the tonnage men in the steel mill about a month ago got a cut of 60 per cent.; the men struck and negro labor was to be introduced. Note that part of the stockholders in this concern are silver bugs, one of them a Silver Protectionist at that. The reduction is brought about partly by increasing the work of each man. As a result, the men are fearfully exhausted, one job, as a result, having to be filled four times within a short period. Nearly everywhere, of course, the employees are do-

ing more work for the same or less pay. In many cases girls—and sometimes men—are taking the place of men; and in many places (since the '96 election) improved machinery has displaced labor and reduced wages.

Probably no more striking proof of the above statement can be found anywhere than in McKinley's own home—Canton, O. About five months ago "The Repository," Mac's own organ, informed the Typographical Union that wages would have to come down. The union objected, whereupon the Mergenthaler was put in, and out of 12 of "The Repository" type-setters 8 were thrown out on the street to press bricks for a living. Granted that the pure and simple union can maintain wages, how can it maintain employment in the face of such things as this? In the Dubold Safe & Lock Co. Works, of Canton, up to about 9 months ago, there were 10 men employed in polishing by hand the heavy doors of vaults. They continually complained about the exhausting nature of their work. They do not do so any longer; they are, perhaps, reposing on their incomes and studying the money question. Cause: Machine, with one man. The work is easy now. The Berger Mfg. Co., of Canton, making steel roofing, conductor pipes, etc., is running good now, but instead of employing men, employs women and girls at much lower wages, and work them as long as 16 hours a day. During the hot spell last summer one day several of the girls dropped over from heat and overwork. Observe the growing introduction of girls and women into the metallic trades, observe this and the extreme spoliation in McKinley's own home, a great residential town; note this savage exploitation and barbarous neglect, and then push the principles of the class struggle with all the power of heart and brain. The Bucher & Gibbs Plow Co. promised their employees lots of pretty things if McKinley were elected, and day before Christmas gave them a present of a 10 to 30 per cent. cut, told them they hadn't reached bottom yet and ought to be glad that they had any work at all. Well, don't you think such gudeons as to support this system ought to be glad when they have any work at all?

J. H. McLean & Co., of Canton, who promised similar pretty things, hadn't done anything since the '96 election up to my visit there last summer. The Artificial Ice Co., of Canton, similar promisers, cut wages since the '96 election from \$1.50 a day to \$1, same number of hours. I was told by several that when McKinley visited Canton last 4th of July many unemployed men pulled out their empty pockets in plain view of McKinley, as the procession went by. Over at Massillon (Coxey's home, Coxey who has admitted to our comrades there that "Socialism is all right," but turns his back on it)—only eight miles west of Canton—the Republican paper came out with great head lines about the arrival of prosperity on the same day it cut its own employees' wages. On the employees' calling attention to this inconsistency, the management answered by getting mad.

All these statements I got from employees directly affected, or from their fellow wage slaves. The tin mill employees are the only ones I discovered in Ohio who had received an advance, and this was 8 per cent. against a reduction last fall of 15 per cent. The machine, however, is getting in its deadly work here also. At Canal Dover the picklers in the tin mill, who were getting \$3 a day, struck for \$3.25, and the company, after four days, surrendered. Six months later (now about a year ago) the picklers were dumfounded by the introduction of machinery to do this work, whereby one man, unskilled, could do twice as much as the skilled workman formerly, and for it received \$1.50 a day. These skilled workmen, therefore, took a tumble from \$3.25 a day to \$1.25; THEY HAD TO.

Many readers are doubtless aware of the reduction in puddlers' wages last summer, from \$4.50 to \$4 a ton, which they had to take IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THEIR UNION! This, of course, enables them much better to buy dollar wheat. Some of them; by the way, are beginning to understand how they would have fared under free silver. We have our high prices, especially for farm products, which latter Mr. Bryan so earnestly assured us was the first prerequisite to a return of prosperity, and some have found that wages do not rise with the rise in prices. Perhaps, though, Bryan could have made capitalists act differently. The miners; too, in spite of the increase, a beggarly one, they get through the strike, and, owing to higher prices for flour, potatoes, sugar, powder, etc., that they are really working for considerably less wages than before the strike.

Many miners, up to the close of the strike, had not worked since January 1. One has to wonder how they live. The cow and little patch has been what kept them up. Many live in little shanties, somewhat larger than an organ box, renting at \$4 a month. A long, narrow, one-story shed, like a cattle barn, cut up crosswise into rooms, rents at \$1 a month for each person. These places often swarm like an ant-hill—at \$1 a head. When you consider the beggarly wages they make, their grimy, gloomy, dangerous, exhausting toil, their generally miserable, unattractive houses, and dirty, ugly little towns in which they live, the outrageous plucking by false screens and company stores, no diversion save the saloon, living in this dreary penitentiary of toil, their endurance, as that of their fellow wage slaves everywhere, is one of the greatest marvels of the world. If the proletariat show but a fraction of this patience after the Co-operative Commonwealth is established, there will be no shadow of doubt about its permanency. One of them casually expressed to me their condition in words meaning volumes: "The miner has such a hard life, he might as well be dead."

# THE DAILY PEOPLE

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\$4,575.

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THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.  
184 William St., N. Y.

One of the miners of the Massillon district showed me his pay envelopes for a year, and we found that in the best bituminous district in the United States, working in a good "room," in a good mine, between October, 1894, and October, 1895 (the best year since '81), he, an expert miner, working 201 days that year—an exceptionally good run—realized, after deducting cost of powder, oil, etc., \$256.83—\$1.27½ for each day he worked, or 82½ cents a day based on 313 working days to the year. In Shawnee at one mine in '94 the average wages were 30 cents a day; in another mine there, 22½ cents.

Miners are not the only people in Ohio hard put to it to live. In Irondele (one of McKinley's tin-mill towns) they told me 30 or 40 people there were living—trying to live—on four meals a week. Looks as if the dime-museum fasters would have their occupation seriously threatened by competition.

In Lima, one of our comrades showed me the place, right by his own house, where men sat down and cried because they were turned away, unable to get work, digging sewers at 50 cents a day—an amount, however, possible to be made only by the strongest and most experienced diggers. One of them seemed to be in so hard straits that the boss took pity on him and gave him work. At nine o'clock he fell over in a faint—empty stomach, not a mouthful in his house for himself or family.

At East Liverpool, the pottery hands are patiently waiting for the restoration of a 42 per cent. cut in their wages, which they once accepted in order "that the pottery might be able to run and give them work." They are promised this restoration for Christmas. Some of them, though, are ungrateful enough to express doubt on this point. This, I believe, the largest pottery town in the United States. And here, in the mills for grinding flint for use in pottery clay, practically all the men who work among the rollers contract consumption and die within a year. In spite of muzzles over the face, the flying particles of sharp-pointed flint get into the lungs and form ulcers which lead to hemorrhage and death. Other men, such as teamsters, who handle the flint dust, also eventually contract the same disease and die in two or three years. These men receive for their great risk the dazzling remuneration of \$1.35 and \$1.50 a day. Yet, in spite of this, and certain early death hovering over them, THERE IS NO TROUBLE TO GET HANDS FOR THIS WORK. Another murderous concern that has no difficulty to get victims for its constant sacrifices is the Ohio Steel Co., at Youngstown, O. This cripples 100 hands a year out of 600. On with the class struggle, comrades!

We hear of the paternalism Socialism would bring in. Think of the paternalism in a town, all owned by one company, land, dwelling houses, store company stores containing all kinds of stores in one, together with the post office, hotel, saloon, barber shop, church, etc., etc. Employees who do not deal at these company stores (which charge 25 per cent. more than others) soon find themselves out of a job. One of these companies, I noticed, had up a sign announcing that dancing in the company's houses was forbidden; these pig-sties would not last quite so long, otherwise.

The following should destroy another superstition. In Akron a concern is run by one foreman (a mechanic) and about 250 girls. The girls get about \$3 a week, the foreman \$1.40 a day. Two dozen forewomen in Akron get \$1 a day each. How is your foreman, saying nothing about the ordinary workman, going to save that primitive accumulation any more?

At Jobs, Hocking Co., the largest bituminous mine in the United States, I went in and saw the under-cutting machine at work. This machine (I write from memory), supported on a rectangular iron frame about 8 feet long, a foot high and 30 inches wide, consists essentially of an electric motor on one end of the frame, operating a series of chains side by side running parallel across the length of the frame to the other end, where they drive, at high speed, a horizontal, cylindrical iron bar (called the "cutter bar") about 30 inches long, studded from end to end around its entire circumference with short, stout, sharp steel chisels. The machine (which rests on wheels) is moved up against the face of the vein of coal, and the rapidly revolving cutter bar furiously attacks the coal on a level with the floor, cutting an opening about 30 inches wide, 4 inches high, and running back under the vein a distance of about 6 feet. The cutter-bar chips the coal into a fine dust, which is largely dragged out by the heavy chains as they return towards the motor. After the machine is withdrawn a miner, with his pick, makes a cavity in the vein of coal, beginning about 2 feet above the opening of the under-cut and sloping backwards and downwards several feet until it reaches the floor. This cavity is formed so that when the blast is fired the coal will be thrown outwards into the passage way and be in a position to tackle with the shovel and load. If this cavity were not made ("blocking down" it is called) the coal, upon being blasted, would simply be blown straight downward and stick there in a solid, unmanageable mass, and be in little better condition to load than before the under-cutting and blasting. Before blasting the coal is one hard and solid mass. One under-cut is done by the machine in about 5 minutes, a tremendous advance over under-cutting with the pick. There are several things that offset this great gain, and under-cutting is, of course, only one part of the work of mining. I found, by inquiries at several mines, that a given number of men in a machine mine get out about one-third more coal than the same number of men in a simple pick mine. The use of the machine, by the way, serves as a pre-

text by the company to reduce wages. They claim that the machine enables the miner to load twice as many tons as the miner in pick mines, and that, therefore, his rate per ton should be only half as great as the pick miner's, viz., 28 cents for machine mines and 56 cents for pick mines. He cannot, however, as a rule, load twice as much, and so is forced to work extra hard to make his old rate of wages. This and other beautiful methods of reducing wages I found in many parts of Ohio.

Along Lake Erie I saw the great coal dumpers at work. Some of these will take up bodily a whole car of coal at a time, dump it into a chute that pours it into the hold of a vessel, and return it to its place on the railroad track in a minute. I figured on the difference between unloading by hand and unloading by machinery (including cost and maintenance), and roughly it is like this:

One car, by hand, 15 men one hour, cost.....\$1.87½  
One car, by machinery, 22 men one minute, cost......17½

A vessel, I think, can now coal up and get away in one day where formerly it took 3 days. A wholesale displacement that took place along this lake recently was as follows: The Cleveland Shipbuilding Co. moved its works from Cleveland to Lorain, where they have bigger dock-yards and improved machinery, so that they are doing now with 150 hands at Lorain what required 400 at Cleveland. At Cleveland the laborers (about half the force) got \$1.50 a day; now at Lorain \$1.25. The way to help the displaced men is, of course, to raise by a high tariff or "16 to 1," the prices of what these men eat and wear. Then the poor devils will be happy!

I heard this choice bit about Jim Blaine, from a witness of it. The incident occurred at Orrville, O., and Blaine was giving a man named Orr advice as to how to carry that county for the Republicans. Blaine said: "God damn it, Orr, get down and mix with them. Take a plug of tobacco in your hand and get down and mix with these hayseeds. That's the way to do it." My informant is the proprietor of a hotel and once a Republican.

At Tremont, O., I heard McKinley, in the course of a speech, say that the country "is safer, and FREER and better than it ever was before," also, that "the institutions of the country are safe; there's a flag in the hands of every child." The next night, when I spoke there and asked for signatures, a workman followed me around a corner, after the speech was over, so as to sign the petition unobserved, saying he had a job on the railroad to keep FREEMONT! But sometimes even flags, Major, can't hold a system together. Did you ever hear that "Necessity knows no law"? The labor-skinning and labor-skinner-protecting institutions of this country are not safe. The day approaches when labor, roused at last, under penalty of death, out of its torpor, unable longer to endure this system of outrage, robbery and murder, united and made omnipotent by the power of knowledge, will rise gigantic, Thor-like, and with arm and hammer crush it, destroy it forever.

B. F. KEINARD.

A Complete Set of The People in Bound Volumes in the Boston Public Library. A Set of its Predecessor The Workmen's Advocate wanted.

A complete set of THE PEOPLE was procured by the Massachusetts State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party after much difficulty and presented to the Boston Public Library.

It has been bound in red calf by the library, and may be seen in that institution. There is not another set in any public library in the country nor can a complete set be bought to-day at any price. The set that is here will be invaluable in the future to the historian and student as well as to members of the party, who will have occasion many times to refer to these volumes. The volumes in the future will be preserved and bound.

Has any one a volume or more of the predecessor of THE PEOPLE—"The Workman's Advocate"—that they would sell or donate?

Has any one a volume or more of "The Socialist," published about 1878, or any other Socialist paper in the English language published in this country? If there are any such I would be obliged if they would communicate with me.

A collection of Socialist and labor pamphlets and leaflets (old and new) is being made to deposit in a public institution. Members of the party and others who may have any such documents they would dispose of may send them to the undersigned.

THOMAS C. BROPHY,  
17 Fremont Ave., Somerville, Mass.

Buffalo American Branch will hold this Sunday, Nov. 28, at 8 p. m., in Labor Lyceum, 550 Broadway, a discussion meeting on the subject: "The rapid increase of the Socialist vote in the country and the lessons of the recent election." Come and bring friends along.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## "Skand. Am. Arbetaren."

Our Swedish Party Organ can be had on trial for two months for 10 cents. Every comrade who wants to help to push along our cause and who happens to know any Swedes, would do us a great favor by sending in the names and addresses with (or even without) 10 cents. Postage stamps accepted. Let the expected reader pay the price himself, if possible, but at any rate, send along the name and address.

SKANDINAVIAN AM. ARBETAREN,  
37-37 Frankfort St., New York, N. Y.

## Trades and Societies Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Salm Club (Musicians Union), Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 44 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1), Meets at 230 every Sunday afternoon at 4 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau, 64 East 4th street, District 1 (Rohamsk 24 East 1st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 11 (German), at 213 Forsyth, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 111, meets at 157 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 117, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 35 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1029, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock. Officers: Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wall, corr. Sec'y; Residence, 173 E. 4th St.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 2nd St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Service Club, S. L. P., 34th St., Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

## WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 10,000.

Principal Organization, New York and

OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 6 o'clock P. M.

BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, N. Y., Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic, N. J., Boston, Holyoke, Mass., New Haven, Waterbury and Meriden, Conn., Portland, Bangor, Lewiston, Augusta, Me., Chicago, Ill.

## Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

## WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1886 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and social thought. Its numerous strength (at present composed of 129 local branches, with more than 12,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and \$4.00 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is granted to every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to a sick benefit of \$9.00 and \$3.00 respectively. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditure. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 10 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to Ernest Wall, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd Ave., Room 8, New York City.

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THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:  
Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.,  
Cohen's Book Store, Washington St.,  
The Irish Socialist, Washington St.,  
Cronwell's Store, Harrison Avenue, near Bennett St.

To Irish Comrades:  
All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon," received from Dublin for the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain a few hand samples of the handsome green card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

Labor News Co.,  
64 E. 4th street, New York City.